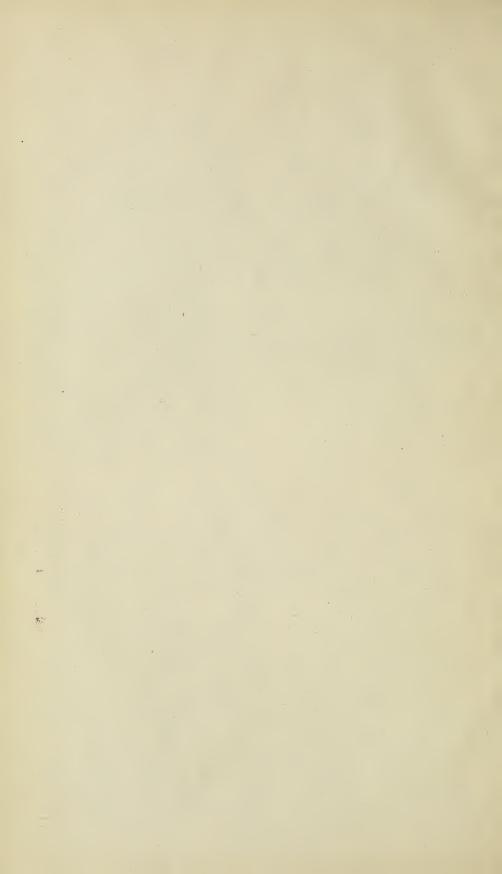


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VOYAGE TO SPITZBERGEN.



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## NARRATIVE

OF A

## VOYAGE TO SPITZBERGEN IN THE YEAR 1613,

AT THE CHARGE OF

THE FELLOWSHIP OF ENGLISH MERCHANTS FOR THE DISCOVERY OF NEW TRADES; COMMONLY CALLED THE MUSCOVY COMPANY:

WITH A

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE OPERATIONS OF THE WHALE-FISHERY.

Now first Printed from the Original Manuscript.

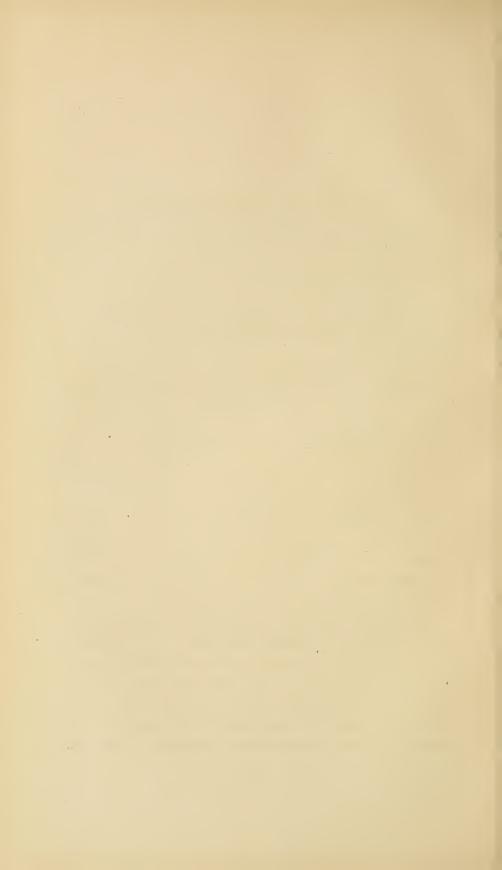
Whith an Introduction and Notes,
BY SAMUEL F. HAVEN.

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## VOYAGE TO SPITZBERGEN.

## INTRODUCTION.

The voyage to Spitzbergen, of which the account here published is now for the first time printed, is one of the series embraced in the collection of Purchas. It belongs to a class of voyages associated with so many important historical facts and events, that it is not easy to determine the limits of explanation and illustration to which a prefatory chapter should be confined.

We have recently been passing through an epoch of enthusiasm and effort for polar exploration, whose progress has been prolific of dramatic, and even poetical incidents, that have arrested the attention and enlisted the sympathies of all civilized communities.

The tragical fate of Franklin and his associates, so long shrouded in mystery; the costly and repeated expeditions sent out from two nations for their rescue; the moving adventures of the chivalrous Kane, vivified by the graphic skill of his pen; the heroic and persevering exertions of Lady Franklin to penetrate the obscurity of her husband's doom, crowned at last with

melancholy success, — all these circumstances have imparted to the arctic expeditions of our own time a romantic interest, which they may be thought to possess in a higher degree than similar enterprises of an earlier period. Yet the history of voyages for Northern discovery has been marked from the beginning by a like courageous spirit, inspired by an equal zeal; and has been varied by not less striking experiences of disaster and success, of suffering and escape, of endurance and death.

In smaller and clumsier vessels, with less of nautical science, and far fewer appliances for comfort and security, the same seas were explored, in nearly the same places and almost to the same extent, more than two centuries ago. And far within those frozen regions, among the floating mountains of ice and amid the more dangerous forms of drift and pack, were found two centuries ago, as they are found now, the hardy whalemen, pursuing their prey to the utmost limits of practicable navigation; sometimes following the course of discovery, and sometimes leading the way; asking no admiration for their courage, no sympathy for their sufferings, and no recompense of renown for the perils they encountered and the obstacles they overcame.

The progress of ocean fishery is inseparably connected with that of polar navigation, not merely as its principal practical result, but as a main source of its early encouragement and support. It is to private mercantile enterprise that our knowledge of that portion of the globe is chiefly due, either as stimulating the

action of governments, or, oftener, as assuming itself the charges and responsibilities of the adventure. Originating with an effort to discover a shorter and safer means of access to the tempting riches of Cathay, and upheld by hopes of finding beyond the barriers of land-locked ice an open sea and genial sky, — never admitted to be wholly illusory by the most experienced seamen, — these undertakings were often sustained by the profits derived from the oil, the ivory, and the whalebone procured upon the coasts of Spitzbergen and Greenland, in the highest latitudes of accessible land.<sup>1</sup>

Although then, or until then, inferior to Spain, Portugal, France, and Holland, in commercial activity, the English nation was the pioneer of arctic discovery, and the first to establish the whale fishery in the extreme North. It was on account of this inferiority, and because other nations already occupied the commanding points in the routes of trade with the Indies, — thereby exposing British vessels to capture or material obstruction in their traffic, — that a new method of approach to the eastern shores of Asia was so eagerly sought. The breadth of the continents was under-estimated; and it was believed, that, however difficult and dangerous the Northern passage might be, its difficulties and dangers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> If the numerous cases collected by Hon. Daines Barrington from masters of whale-ships, and read before the Royal Society in 1774-5, are to be credited, the whalemen have gone nearer to the pole in the pursuit of their regular business than the best appointed expeditions have succeeded in doing.

In the voyage here printed, the latitude of 79° is mentioned as that in which most of the whales were taken. Barrington says, that, in 1774, the "fishing latitude," so called, at Spitzbergen, was 80°.—Barrington's Miscellanies, pp. 31, 50.

would be less formidable than those which were incident to the long and tedious voyages round either of the Southern capes, especially during periods of war.

The principal object of pursuit, it is true, was not attained; but England was rewarded by the acquisition of a valuable intercourse with Russia, by the way of Archangel; by a productive whale fishery at Spitzbergen; by the discovery of Hudson's and Baffin's Bays; and especially by the development of that commercial energy which never faltered till it became dominant throughout the globe.

London was the central source of these operations; and her municipal officers, composed of her leading and most successful men of business, were the organizers and supporters of the many bold and far-reaching schemes of traffic and colonization by which the period was distinguished. The monarchs of trade in ancient Venice and Genoa never conceived more extensive designs, or conducted them more royally, than did the mayors, sheriffs, and aldermen of London their combined expeditions of commerce and discovery. names of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir Francis Cherie, Alderman Wyche, Alderman Jones, and others of the same class and position, the merchant-princes of this heroic age of maritime adventure, were bestowed with almost indiscriminate profusion, and somewhat perplexing repetition, upon the numerous localities discovered under their auspices, often at their individual charge; and with them the names of Hakluyt and Purchas, the

contemporary chroniclers of their exploits, were worthily associated.<sup>2</sup>

Hakluyt and Purchas are the patriarchs of British commercial history. In his dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, of honorable memory to our countrymen as a leading promoter of the first attempts to colonize Virginia, Hakluvt states as the cause of his undertaking, that having, while a youth, had his interest excited in geography and cosmography by a cousin of the same name, he afterwards went abroad, and there "both heard in speech and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea; but the English, of all others, for their sluggish security and continual neglect of the like attempts, either ignominiously reported or exceedingly condemned." — "It was for stopping the mouths of the reproachers" that he resolved to "undertake the burden" of compiling an account of what the English people had accomplished.

His first work (now rarely met with) was published in 1582, and he continued to collect and print until

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> With a multitude of *Hopes*, *God's Mercy's*, *Comforts*, *Deliverances*, and *Disappointments*, by which many of the capes, islands, and inlets of the arctic seas were originally designated, most of these appellations have been supplanted by the fancies or claims of later visitors or rival navigators. Smith's Sound, Wolstenholme's Sound, Cape Dudley Digges, Hakluyt's Island, and a few more of the early names, are still retained on the maps of the western coast of Greenland; Hakluyt's Headland may yet be found at the north-western point of Spitzbergen; and Wyche's Land (sometimes written Witches Land), another part of the same country, is occasionally referred to: but Sir Thomas Smith's Bay, Sir Thomas Smith's Inlet, Sir Thomas Smith's Island, Point Purchas, and Purchas's Plus Ultra, have disappeared from most of the charts of that island; while from Hudson's Bay have been removed Smith's Foreland, Cape Wolstenholme, Digge's Island, &c., &c., for the reason, perhaps, that their places were wanted for a new series of patrons; or, it may be, because these names were thought to monopolize too many localities. These examples are given, not as by any means exhausting the catalogue, but simply as illustrating the fact.

1611. He died in 1616. His manuscript remains fell into the hands of Purchas, who had already published, in 1613, a summary of general information, nautical, geographical, and historical, with the title "Purchas his Pilgrimage;" and now commenced his ponderous work, called "Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes," made up of his predecessor's materials, printed and unprinted, of documents derived from navigators themselves, combined with translations of narratives written in foreign tongues, and embracing the whole field of commercial and maritime history. Purchas died in 1628. The narratives of Hakluyt do not reach to the active period of polar fisheries. Those of Purchas extend to the time when, so far as England was concerned, the interest in them began to decline.

It is wonderful how much these diligent collectors contrived to gather, not only from ancient and obscure chronicles, but more especially from the oral statements and private papers of seamen and their employers, with whom they had personal intercourse. It might be expected that accounts so procured, would, many of them, be crude in form, and often incorrect in details of fact; and that such a mass of materials would fail to be satisfactorily digested and systematized; while the prolixity of style and numerous affectations, common

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes; containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land Travels, by Englishmen and others: wherein God's Wonders in Nature and Providence, the Acts, Arts, Varieties, and Vanities of Man, with a World of the World's Rarities, are, by a World of Eye-witnesse Authors, related to the World. Some left written by Mr. Hakluit at his death; more since added; his also perused and perfected: all examined, abbreviated, illustrated with Notes, enlarged with Discourses, adorned with Pictures, and expressed in Maps. In Four Parts, each containing Five Books. By Samuel Purchas, D.D."

to the age in which they wrote, were by no means favorable to perspicuity.

It is not surprising that the logical tastes and severe mental habits of John Locke should have caused him to be greatly disturbed by these qualities of matter and manner.<sup>4</sup> The "Magnalia" of our Cotton Mather is a fair example of this kind of literary production, with its parade of complimentary prefaces in prose and verse, and its clumsy attempts to maintain an air of sprightliness in the treatment of serious subjects. The effort to carry a cumbrous burden of learning with a light and lively step is of itself sufficiently unnatural and absurd. In Mather's case, it had unhappily the additional awkwardness of being out of season, like a discarded fashion, which will sometimes linger in secluded districts long after it has been supplanted in its original seat.

There were, however, sufficient causes of obscurity inherent in the means of information on which Hakluyt and Purchas often relied, without reference to their mode of using them. The ancient records were vague and imperfect, and contemporary reports were apt to be both inexact and exaggerated; longitudes were seldom noted or known; errors of latitude often arose from ignorance of the effect on the sun's apparent position, produced by refraction in the Northern atmosphere; even courses and distances were not stated with much

<sup>4 &</sup>quot;Purchas, like Hakluyt, has thrown in all that came to hand to fill up so many volumes, and is excessively full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling and playing upon words; yet, for such as can make choice of the best, the collection is very valuable."—Introductory Discourse, to Churchill's Collection of Voyages, by John Locke.

precision; and, in the struggle with other nations for precedence of discovery and possession, claims were advanced that were either without foundation, or but feebly supported by evidence. Purchas was in the habit of treating the documents that came into his possession with great freedom; omitting what he chose to consider unimportant, and introducing changes and additions, without always enabling his readers to distinguish curtailed or altered or intercalated passages from the proper text of his authorities.

As an example of *indistinctness*, may be mentioned his account of the important voyage of Bylot and Baffin in 1616, when Baffin's Bay was first explored, and when most of the prominent names still attached to its capes, harbors, and inlets, were bestowed upon them. The record is ostensibly Baffin's, who had a high reputation for scientific attainments and general accuracy of observation; but it is obscured by the mutilations and other changes to which it was subjected.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "This voyage, which ought to have been, and indeed may still be, considered as the most interesting and important either before or since, is the most vague, indefinite, and unsatisfactory of all others; and the account of it most unlike the writing of William Baffin."—"So vague and indefinite, indeed, is every information left which could be useful, that each succeeding geographer has drawn Baffin's Bay on his chart as best accorded with his fancy."—Barrow's Chron. Hist., pp. 215, 216.

It is probable, however, that the fault in this case rests chiefly, if not entirely, with Purchas, who strangely omitted Baffin's chart and explanatory notes, on the plea that "this map of the authour for this and the former voyage, with the tables of his journall and sayling, were somewhat troublesome and too costly to insert."

Baffin was, doubtless, the most scientific navigator of his time. In his voyage to Greenland in 1612, he laid down a method of determining the longitude at sea, which is said to be the first on record (Barrow, p. 201); and he was one of the first to observe and calculate the influence on the sun's apparent altitude of the remarkable refractive power of an arctic atmosphere. It is in his account of our voyage to Spitzbergen that he notices this subject particularly. Barents and his crew, who wintered at Nova Zembla in 1596, are reported to have seen the sun above the horizon fourteen days

The most striking instance of an unwarrantable claim is perhaps that of the discovery of Spitzbergen by Sir Hugh Willoughby, which a very slight examination of Willoughby's own journal would seem sufficient to refute.<sup>6</sup> But the presumption of prior discovery, added to the fact of prior occupancy, was required to sustain the English pretense of an exclusive right to the fisheries on those shores, very fairly, and with ultimate success, disputed by the Dutch.

In this connection, the value of the labors of the Hakluyt Society should be duly recognized. The character and purpose of that association are indicated by the name it bears. Among its publications are two important volumes, — one of them entitled "Narratives of Voyages towards the North-west in Search of a Passage to Cathay;" the other, a revised publication of De Veer's "True Description of Three (Dutch) Voyages by the North-east towards Cathay," &c.; in which the correction of past errors by means of present light, and the establishment of truths before uncertain, are happily combined.

before it should have been visible according to the rules of science then known; and were astonished at the seeming miracle. The oblate form of the earth at the poles had not then been demonstrated, affording another element of error in nautical estimates. Baffin was killed in the East Indies in 1622, at the siege of Ormuz, by a shot, "as he was trying his mathematical projects and conclusions" (Purchas, vol. iii. p. 848). Purchas calls him "that learned-unlearned mariner and mathematician, who, wanting art of words, so really employed himself to those industries whereof here you see so eminent fruits" (ibid.: p. 847).

Sir John Ross bears repeated testimony to the general accuracy of Baffin in noting positions and distances. — Voyage of the Isabella and Alexander, 1818.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See analysis of Willoughby's track, by Thomas Rundall. Hakluyt Society's Publications, 1849.

<sup>7</sup> Hakluyt Society's Publications, 1849.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 1853.

After all that the industry of Hakluyt and Purchas collected from their contemporaries, there must be many maritime records of their period which they did not find, or were unable to use, that are worthy of preservation in print, and of translation if in foreign tongues. It is to be hoped that the issues of the Hakluyt Society will long continue to be enriched from such sources.

From Hakluyt and Purchas later writers have chiefly derived the earlier portions of their compilations; in many instances adopting their errors with their facts. In regard to the Northern regions of both hemispheres, no small amount of misconception has attended nearly every effort to elucidate the history of their discovery. Rheinhold Forster 9 is often criticized and condemned by Sir John Barrow, and not by him alone; and Barrow<sup>1</sup> (the accurate Barrow, as he has been termed) is seriously taken to task by the author of "A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot." 2 In all the summaries of polar expeditions, that, in one form and another, have been introduced into modern narratives, there is a want of satisfactory fulness or clearness. A careful study of each particular voyage, with a candid comparison of all that have been accomplished, or that are claimed as having been accomplished, by different nations, is still a desideratum in this field of research.3

 $<sup>^9</sup>$  History of Voyages and Discoveries in the North, translated from the German. London, 1786.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions. London, 1818.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Richard Biddle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The geographical history of the Western continent very much needs such an analytical exposition; and it is to be regretted that a work on the subject, prepared

There happens to be, among the manuscripts in possession of the American Antiquarian Society, an original journal of that voyage to Spitzbergen in 1613, which immediately followed a grant to the Muscovy Company of additional powers from the crown. attempt was made to assert a supremacy over the Northern seas by means of an armed fleet of merchantmen sent to enforce the submission of ships of other nations then beginning to frequent the coasts of Spitzbergen. With this object was combined that of additional discoveries; which, with few exceptions, formed a part of the plan of every commercial expedition in that quarter. The crisis was one of some moment, and was productive of important results affecting the general interests of commerce. The whale-fishery, as a regular business, had recently commenced. This was the third venture of the company in that employment; and the Spanish, French, and Dutch were eagerly following on their steps, and enticing away the English pilots and sailors to their own service. The Hollanders had a claim of right, in virtue of the discovery of Spitzbergen by their countryman Barents in 1596. They were also fortified by the publication, the preceding year, of the "Mare Liberum" of Grotius, written for their special benefit. Immediately following this voyage, there appeared from the press at Amsterdam an account of the discovery of the island, its situation and products, with a protest against the pretensions of the English, and their obstructions to the use of the fisheries

with great labor by Mr. J. G. Kohl, under the encouragement of the Smithsonian Institution, should remain unpublished for want of the necessary funds.

by other nations.<sup>4</sup> The Dutch vessels were afterwards protected by ships of war.

It was in this voyage that the arms of the King of England were first set up on the island; which was named, in his honor, "King James his New Land." <sup>5</sup>

The account of the expedition in the "Pilgrimes" of Purchas is attributed to Baffin, who perhaps accompanied the expedition in a scientific capacity, as he does not appear to have held a command.

There are reasons, which will be adduced in another place, for believing that the journal now first printed was from the pen of Robert Fotherby, whose name, both as an author and as a skilful navigator, is connected with two succeeding voyages. From the manner in which his papers are referred to and used by Purchas, as well as from his ceasing to be mentioned, it is probable that he died soon after, while yet a young man.

Although the voyage itself has no direct connection with American history, it is intimately associated with facts that are proper subjects of interest and investigation for American archæologists. It was part of the great commercial operations that embraced the exploration and settlement of our own shores. It was conducted under the same auspices and with the same objects that controlled the fisheries in our seas, and

<sup>4 &</sup>quot;Histoire du Pays nommé Spitzberghe, comme il a este descouvert, sa situation, et de ses Animauls. Avec le Discours des Empechemens que les Navires esquippes pour la Peche des Baleines tant Basques, Hollandois, que Flamens, ont souffert de la part des Anglois, en l'Anée presente 1613. Escript par H. G. A. Et un Protestation contre les Anglois, et Annullation de tous leurs Frivolz Argumens, par lequelz ils pensent avoir droit de se fair seuls Maistres du dit Pays. A Amsterdam, chez Hessel Gerard A. a l'enseigne de la Carte Nautiq. MDCCXIII."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Anderson's Commerce, vol. iii. p. 343.

established the earliest English colonies on our soil. In point of time, it is midway between the first permanent settlement in Virginia and the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth; and, in the influences attached to it, has definite relations to both.

A list of the members of the Muscovy Company is not within reach, if still extant; but the men who managed its concerns, and sent out this and other expeditions to Spitzbergen, were, some of them at least, among the assignees of Raleigh, and followed up successfully his, plans of colonization. Sir Thomas Smith, the Governor of the Muscovy Company, was the Treasurer and *de facto* Governor of the Virginia Company. Sir Dudley Digges (his kinsman) and Sir John Wolstenholme were likewise patentees, and named of the Council by the king in 1609. Sir Dudley Digges was also one of the New-England Company.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Thomas Smith stands first in the list of Raleigh's assignees. The next, William Sanderson, was a veteran merchant of the same class, whose name was given to the most northerly point on the Greenland coast attained by Davis in 1587. Smith was the leading manager of the Virginia Company, but became unpopular on account of a body of laws sent over by him, that were considered objectionable for their severity. He surrendered his office in 1619, "being far advanced in years and of tender health;" having, "in the time of greatest trouble and difficulty, continued above twelve years in the principal office of the company" (Stith's Virginia, book iii. pp. 158-9). "During all which time, (he) was Treasurer and Governor of the Company, with the expense of seventy thousand pounds, or thereabouts, brought in for the most part by voluntary adventurers; being, a great many of them, Sir Thomas's near friends and relations, and, for his sake, joining in the business" (ibid., book v. p. 301, from Alderman Johnson's "Declaration of the Prosperous Estate of the Colony during Sir Thomas Smith's Time of Government").

Sir Thomas Smith was second son of Thomas Smith, Esq., in the county of Kent. He was a Farmer of the Customs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and was so much in favor with King James, that he sent him ambassador to the Emperor of Russia in 1604. He was prominent in almost every important maritime enterprise of his time. He built a costly house at Deptford, near London; which was destroyed by fire in 1619. His eldest son married a daughter of Robert, Earl of Warwick. He was buried under a stately monument in Hone Church, Kent. The inscription is a summary of his history: "To the glory of God, and to the pious memorie of the honorable Sir

It is impossible to withhold one's admiration from these merchant-knights, who so nobly distinguished themselves in the peaceful errantry of commerce at a period when distances were comparatively formidable; compassing the globe with their ships; striving, with courage unshaken by defeat, to force a passage, through the domains of perpetual frost and semi-perpetual night, into the fruitful and sunny regions of the East; and turning aside, as if for relaxation, from bolder adventures, to uphold infant colonies in some remote wilderness.

Thomas Smith, Kt. (late governour of the East Indian, Muscovia, French, and Sommer Island companies; treasurer for the Virginia plantation; prime undertaker (in the year 1612) for that noble designe, the discoverie of the North-West passage; principall commissioner for the London expedition against the pirates, and for a voiage to the ryver Senega, upon the coast of Africa; one of the chief commissioners for the navieroial, and sometime ambassador from the majestie of Great Britain to the emperour and great duke of Russia and Muscovia, &c.), who, havinge judiciously, conscionably, and with admirable facility, managed many difficult and weighty affairs to the honor and profit of this nation, rested from his labors the 4th day of Septem., 1625" (Athenae Oxonienses, vol. ii. col. 54). Some verses descriptive of the multitude and diversity of his enterprises are added to the above. Purchas, acknowledging his obligations to him, with high-flown allusions to Neptune and Xerxes, adds in a note, that the courts, consultations, &c., for the East Indies, Virginia, Summer Islands, North and North-west discoveries, Muscovia, &c., are kept at his house (Pilgrimage, ed. of 1614, p. 744).

The widow, and third wife, of Sir Thomas married Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, brother of the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney. — Hasted's Kent, vol. i. pp. 238, 412.

In the Bodleian Catalogue, a book entitled "Sir Thomas Smith's Voyage and Entertainment in Russia" is attributed to him; and he is erroneously said to be the son of Sir Thomas Smith, who was Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, and a distinguished scholar and writer. Wood, in the "Athenæ," mentions the book, but says it was published without his knowledge or consent. The Sir Thomas Smiths, of whom there were three distinguished about the same time, are often confounded.

Sir Dudley Digges was also of a Kent family, and one remarkable during several generations for intellectual gifts and attainments. His grandfather was an able mathematician and writer; his father was also a distinguished mathematician and author; his brother Leonard was a poet, orator, and linguist. Sir Dudley himself was an accomplished scholar, traveller, statesman, and author, a patriotic member of Parliament, and a princely merchant. He was one of the most active in bringing the Duke of Buckingham to account (for which he was committed to the Tower), and

But, while the lives of individual men are of limited duration, the planting of new states is a slow and protracted process, of which the germ and the fruit are seldom found in the same generation. The municipal officers of London who began the work, who enlisted the participation of noblemen and courtiers, who created the spirit of enterprise, and set the example of broad and liberal designs, bequeathed to successors in similar mercantile positions their habits of adventure and the fulfilment of their lordly schemes. The men of rank who aspired to be proprietors of domains that

among the foremost in maintaining the liberties of the subject against the usurpations of the throne. He succeeded Sir Julius Cæsar as Master of the Rolls in 1636; and died March 18, 1638. He purchased the Manor and Castle of Chilham in Kent; where, about the year 1616, he erected a magnificent edifice for his residence. It is said of him, that "his understanding few could equal; his virtues, fewer would:" and that "the wisest men reckoned his death among the public calamities of those times" (Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. cols. 634 and 635; Hasted's Kent, vol. iii. p. 130; Chalmers' Biog. Dict., &c.). Some of his speeches are preserved by Rushworth. His son Dudley was also distinguished as a general scholar and writer. Sir Dudley left eight sons and three daughters. Col. Edward Digges, chosen Governor of Virginia in 1655, "having given signal testimony of his fidelity to Virginia and to the Commonwealth of England" (Henning, vol. i. p. 388), was probably his son. In the churchyard at Woodford, England, is the tomb of "Edward Digges, Esq., son of Hon. Dudley Digges of Virginia, 1711" (Lyson's Env. of Lond., vol. iiii. p. 278).

Sir John Wolstenholme, as well as Sir Thomas Smith, held the important and lucrative office of Farmer of the Customs, and was made a knight by Charles I. He purchased Nostell Abbey in Yorkshire; and, at his death, left a great estate. The parish-cliurch of Stanmore Magna, near London, was erected at his sole expense; and his monument, which presents his effigies at full length, was placed within it. He died Nov. 25, 1639, at the age of seventy-seven. In his epitaph, his office of Farmer of the Customs is referred to: "Quam splendidissimam teloniam, summa fide, cura, ét innocentia, exercuit." His son, Sir John, who was made a baronet by Charles II., and appointed to his father's place in the Customs, lost a large part of his property in the Revolution by adhering to the king. There was a remarkable friendship between him and the Earl of Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor (Lyson's Env. of London, vol. iii. pp. 395, 396; Kimber's Baronetage, vol. ii. p. 306). The friendship between this Sir John and Clarendon must have begun early; as we find in the autobiography of Sir John Bramston (Camden Society's publications, 1845) a reference to Edward Hyde as on the way to see his wife, then at Sir John Wolstenholme's, who lived at Nostell Priory, near Ferry Bridge. This was about 1640.

might become kingdoms, and the rulers meantime of colonial dependencies, met with small success in their projects; but the merchants, with a better knowledge of men and of business, and a wiser selection of means and agencies, secured the attainment of permanent results. The mayors, aldermen, sheriffs, and other leading merchants of London, as members of the great trading corporation, that, from an incidental branch of its operations, received the name of Russia or Muscovy Company, opened the way, which later mayors, aldermen, and sheriffs followed up by contributing their money, the influence of their names, and the benefit of their counsel and direction, to the advancement of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.<sup>7</sup>

It is customary, with writers of our national history, to go far back among English annals to trace the rise of religious dissent, and investigate the forms of doctrinal difference which are supposed to have culminated in Puritanism, and to have induced that kind of emigration, and that condition of affairs at home, which have dominantly affected the fortunes and character of the New-England States. But those elements of influence which belong to the rise and growth of commerce, especially the commerce of the fisheries; the consequent habit of distant enterprises of trade and colonization, causing familiarity with the seas, and affording

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Among the members of the Massachusetts Company were Thomas Andrews and Thomas Adams, each of whom at some time held the office of mayor, and one or both of them that of sheriff: two at least (Vassall and Bateman) are in the list of aldermen. The Governor (Cradock) was a merchant of London, as were Abraham Palmer, Nathaniel Wright, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Owen Rowe, and doubtless others who are less known.

practice in the administration of affairs on an extended scale, — were working as surely and effectively to the same end; and, in the study of causes, are deserving of no less careful consideration.

It is not merely the explorations and discoveries that sprang from the ambitions and rivalries of commerce, nor the plantations to which the supposed riches of the sea and land in the Western Hemisphere were an inducement, that represent the consequences to us of these commercial undertakings. They contributed directly to the moulding of our political institutions, and the determination of our national characteristics.

In the first place, they enriched the middle classes of England, so that the House of Commons thrice overmatched the House of Lords in wealth. In the second place, they gave that experience in the management of men as well as things, involving more or less the principles of political science, which entitled the Long Parliament to be described by Bishop Warburton as comprising "a set of the greatest geniuses for government that the world ever saw embarked together in any one cause."

The great English Revolution, whatever it became, cannot be attributed to scruples of conscience under religious constraint as its chief cause. It arose rather from a resistance of property, under a sense of personal independence, to the claims of prerogative. Hence it began with a refusal, on the part of the rich merchants, to submit to illegal taxation. It may be no more than a coincidence, that Nathaniel Manstreye, William Spurstowe, Thomas Sharpe, and Thomas Webb, citizens of

London, — who were imprisoned, in 1627, for declining to lend the king money, - and Samuel Vassall, one of the first to resist the payment of tonnage and poundage, are found among the members of the Massachusetts Company: but it corresponds with the fact, that so many other members of the company, and their immediate friends, were among the most active and most effective workers in Parliament and in the army for the overthrow of the monarchy; several of them sitting as judges at the trial of the king. We know that the stirring events which engrossed the attention of the sovereign and his ministers were all that prevented the revocation of the charter of Massachusetts; and we may imagine that the destinies of New England, and of our whole country, were materially affected by the influence of the mercantile classes upon the political affairs of the kingdom.8

It is remarked, in one of the publications of the Hakluyt Society, that the proceedings of the Muscovy Company "are highly deserving of being made the subject of special investigation." An account, not only of its commercial and political relations and its numerous enterprises, but of its leading members, and their personal services in connection with that and other corporations, and on private account (for there is a singular mixture in these transactions), would present many points of interest to an American. Sebastian Cabot,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In a paper prefixed to a publication of the Records of the Massachusetts Company, by the American Antiquarian Society, in 1850, the writer had occasion to notice the prominent agency of its members in the establishment of the English Commonwealth. The views there expressed have been strengthened by subsequent examinations of the subject.

in his old age, was its founder and first governor; and the discovery of Frobisher's Straits, Davis's Straits, Hudson's Bay and Baffin's Bay, the important voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland, and many minor explorations upon the northern coasts of this continent, are included among the fruits of its organization.<sup>9</sup>

So much reference to maritime events in the Northern regions as will place our voyage to Spitzbergen in its proper historical position may be regarded as pertinent to the objects of this introduction.

Two companies for a long time controlled the trade of England, — the Merchants of the Steelyard and the Merchants of the Staple. The first, sometimes called the German Company, was a foreign institution, dependent on the continental league of commercial cities known as the "Hanse Towns;" which, having obtained a footing in London for its factors more than two centuries before, was established by a formal treaty in 1475. The Merchants of the Staple were incorporated as early as 1313; but the Steelyard Company had the advantage of connections abroad, which enabled them to secure a supremacy over the external dealings of the kingdom. Antwerp was the emporium of European commerce: it was the mart where the English merchants sold their native products, and purchased the commodities of other lands.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> While the sanction of the *Company* was required for these expeditions, the expense was generally defrayed by private subscription; a few men—like Smith, Digges, Wolstenholme, Sanderson, Cherie, &c.—assuming the principal charge, and sharing the profits, if any, in the same proportion. Sir Humphrey Gilbert "went out by leave and admittance of the Muscovia Company" (*Edge's Narrative, in Purchas*).

The breaking-up of this condition of things was due, in part, to domestic discontents, occasioned by the subjection of traffic to the domination of foreigners; out of which grew the civil disturbances of May Day, 1517. A company for the transaction of the wool-trade with the Netherlands, incorporated by Henry VII. in 1505, became strong enough, ultimately, to oppose successfully the interference of the Steelyard monopolists; and through their exertions, combined with those of the Merchants of the Staple, the privileges of the Steelyard Company were declared forfeited in 1552. Although renewed in 1554 by Mary, these are supposed to have been again withdrawn, as the company never recovered their power; and the houses they occupied were finally closed, by order of Elizabeth, in 1597.

The second cause of the subversion of the courses of trade was the capture and sack of Antwerp, by the Duke of Parma, in 1585; which gave a shock to the whole system of European commerce, and established the independence of that of England.<sup>1</sup>

Events that seem to belong together from their nature, origin, and design, are sometimes separated by considerable intervals in history. The successful voyage of Columbus caused great attention to be given to the study of the form of the earth; and, when the positions of different countries in point of latitude came to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The sacking of this city gave the finishing blow to the commerce of the Netherlands. The whole fishing trade removed into Holland; and as for the noble manufactures of Flanders and Brabant, they removed to different parts. Much of the woollen manufacture settled at Leyden; the linen removed to Haerlem and Amsterdam. One-third part of the merchants and workmen who worked and dealt in silks, damasks, and taffeties, and in bayes, says, serges, stockings, &c., settled in England.—Anderson's Commerce, vol. ii. p. 211-12.

be understood, the great saving of distance to be effected by a Northern passage from England to China was at once perceived.<sup>2</sup>

To accomplish that passage was the great ambition of the Cabots. Sailing under the authority of Henry VII., they discovered Newfoundland, and made known the value of its fisheries: but the English did not, for many years, take advantage of this knowledge; while the Catholic countries — Spain, Portugal, and France, where the fasts of the church created a great demand for fish — began almost immediately to send vessels to the Grand Banks.<sup>3</sup>

According to Mr. Sabine, there is no account of *English* fishing at Newfoundland before 1517. It was of little consequence ten years later.<sup>4</sup> It began to be important about 1550. In 1578, there were engaged a hundred ships from Spain, fifty from Portugal, a hundred and fifty from France, to fifteen from England.<sup>5</sup> The two events on which the paramount right of Enland is usually founded are the discovery by Cabot in

<sup>2 &</sup>quot;When newes were brought, that Don Christopher Colonius had discovered the coasts of India, — whereof was great talk in the Court of King Henry the 7; insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine than humane to saile by the West into the East, where spices growe, by a way that was never knowen before, — by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing; and understanding, by reason of the sphere, that, if I should saile by way of the Northwest, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the king to be advertised of my devise." — Discourse of Sebastian Cabot: Hakluyt (from Ramusio), vol. iii. p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In 1504. Forster's Discoveries in the North, p. 291. Scoresby's Arctic Regions; Appendix, p. 56. Report on American Fisheries to the United-States Treasury Department, in 1852, by Hon. Lorenzo Sabine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sabine. Purchas, vol. iii. p. 809. In treating of national industry, the Pictorial History of England (book vi. chap. iv.) states that "the first attempt of the English to obtain a share of this trade was not till 1536."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Parkhurst's Letter, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 170. Anderson's Com., vol. ii. p. 192.

1497, and the taking possession by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583.<sup>6</sup> It is estimated, that, about the year 1600, ten thousand men and boys were employed on board and on shore in the business. The first birth from European parents, at Newfoundland, was in 1613.<sup>7</sup>

So dilatory were the English in availing themselves of this great source of wealth, from which the merchants of other nations were realizing magnificent fortunes. Their efforts to discover new routes of trade with the Indies were also slow in progress, and subject to similar intermissions.

Sebastian Cabot, after his voyages under Henry VII., went into the service of Spain. He is said to have returned, and made another voyage in search of the north-west passage about 1517, and even to have entered the bay afterwards discovered by Hudson; but the story is not free from obscurity.<sup>8</sup> In 1527, Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol, endeavored to show, by reasoning, the practicability of a passage by the North: <sup>9</sup> and there is a somewhat mythical account of two ships being sent; one of them called the "Dominus vobiscum." In 1536, "one Master Hore, of London, a man of goodly stature and great courage," went as far as Newfoundland;

<sup>6</sup> Sabine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Mr. Sabine expresses his conviction, "after long and patient inquiry," that the emigration of the Pilgrims from Leyden to Plymouth was due to the inducements of the fishing trade; a business by which every fifth person in Holland was said to earn his subsistence. His reasoning is even more applicable to the rise of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. — Sabine's Report, part iii.

<sup>8</sup> Biddle's Memoir, pp. 102-117.

<sup>9</sup> Letters to Henry VIII. and Dr. Leigh, in Hakluyt, vol. i. pp. 235, 237. Thorne claimed that his father had been concerned in a voyage to Newfoundland with Hugh Elliot and Thomas Ashurst in 1502. If the voyage was made, no record of it remains.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Hakluyt, Barrow, and Biddle.

and, after many misfortunes and much suffering, returned with his men in a French ship, which they had seized, and substituted for their own.

About the time of the breaking-up of the Steelyard monopoly Cabot re-appeared in England. It was a period of great depression in trade. In conjunction with "certaine grave citizens of London, and men of greate wisdome, and carefull for the good of their country," he organized an association called "The Mysterie and Companie of the Merchant Adventurers for the Discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places then unknown." Cabot, now more than eighty years old, was made Grand Pilot of England, and Governor of the Company.

An expedition for the discovery of a passage by the North-east was immediately resolved upon. There were traditions and chronicles declaring the existence of open navigation north of Norway and Lapland; particularly the narrative of Octher, or Othere, a Norwegian navigator, who, about the year 890, delivered to King Alfred "a most just survey and description of the whole coast, even to the mouth of the River Dwina in Russia." Encouraged by this account, and by others perhaps of a later date, great expectations were entertained of an easy transit in that direction. Three vessels were built by the best shipwrights specially for the purpose. Sir Hugh Willoughby — "a most valiant gentleman, and well born" — was selected to be admiral, from many

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Anderson's Commerce, vol. i. p. 106. The story was inserted in King Alfred's version of Orosius. See Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 5; and Barrington's translation, with a map, in his Miscellanies, p. 453.

"sufficient captains and governors" who offered their services, "by reason of his goodly personage, as also for his singular skill in the services of war." Richard Chancelor, the second in command, was chosen "for many good points of wit in him; in whom alone great hope for the performance of this business rested." 3

They sailed May 10, 1553, courtiers and common people being assembled to witness their departure, amid the firing of cannon and the shouts of the multitude. "The good King Edward only, by reason of his sickness, was absent from this shew." <sup>4</sup>

It was the fate of Willoughby, with seventy men,—the crews of two of his vessels,—to be the protomartyrs of arctic enterprise. They were found by some Russians, the spring following, frozen stark in their ships on the coast of Lapland. They had with them an imperfect journal of their voyage, which did not include an account of their final experiences or sufferings.

"Such was the Briton's fate,
As with first prow (what have not Britons dared?)
He for the passage sought, attempted since
So much in vain."—Thomson.

The lost men were in the "Bona Esperanza" and "Bona Confidentia;" but Chancelor, in the "Bonadventure," was more fortunate or more skilful. He landed near the present site of Archangel in Russia; and, making good use of his "wit," was aided by the semi-barbarous natives in pushing his way to Moscow, where the emperor held his court. There he presented

<sup>3</sup> Clement Adams, in Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 271.

his credentials, and succeeded in producing a favorable impression. The monarch himself knew little, if any thing, about England; but an ambassador from the Sofi of Persia had heard of the country, and, perhaps pleased with an opportunity to exhibit his knowledge, spoke in terms of commendation of its people. It is somewhat singular to find an Asiatic from beyond the Tigris youching for the respectability of the British nation; but either through his good offices or the address of Chancelor, or both, the Russian emperor manifested much readiness to enter into relations of amity and commerce with that kingdom. Chancelor carried home with him missives from the Czar, Ivan Vasilowich, containing professions of regard, and tendering facilities of trade, that quite overcame the sense of discouragement which the loss of Willoughby would otherwise have occasioned.

Great enthusiasm was produced by the mercantile prospects so unexpectedly opened. The association organized by Cabot received a charter from Philip and Mary, bearing date Feb. 6, 1554–5, and assumed the name of the "Muscovy," or "Russia Company;" which they continued to retain even after the act of Parliament of 1566, where they are styled "the Fellowship of English Merchants for the Discovery of New Trades," — a corporate title under which they still exist.

Such was the origin of the Muscovy Company, whose ample jurisdiction embraced all undiscovered or unappropriated regions "north-wards, north-eastwards, and north-westwards;" which none but those licensed by the company might frequent without a forfeiture of ships and merchandise.<sup>5</sup>

A lucrative traffic with Russia followed these events, not without efforts to pass beyond to the coveted land of spices; efforts which yielded only disappointment, yet did not extinguish hope.<sup>6</sup>

The Dutch—always on the lookout for chances of profit, and, if we may believe Purchas, always following in the steps of the English, wherever a business promised to be gainful—were anxious to obtain a share of the trade with Russia.

Passing by the English voyages of Burough in 1556, and Pet and Jackman in 1580, — which were productive of no important results bearing on our purpose, — we come to the more celebrated expedition of the Dutch, under the pilotage of William Barents, in 1596. It was the third voyage of that able navigator, whose name is variously written Barents, Bernards, Barentzoon, and Bernardzoon; meaning the son of Barent, or Bernard.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Anderson's Commerce, vol. ii. p. 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In 1556, the company sent out men to bring home Willoughby's ships and the bodies of the men; and, as a fitting conclusion to the tragedy, the vessels "sunk by the way, with their dead, and them also that brought them."—Brief Hist. of Moscovia, ch. 5, in the Prose Works of John Milton.

In the same year, Chancelor, conveying an ambassador from Russia to England in his ship the "Good Fortune" (Bonadventure), found it no longer answering to its name. He was wrecked on the coast of Scotland, and lost his life; though the ambassador was saved.—Letter of Henry Lane to William Sanderson. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 523.

It may be worth mentioning, as a curious fact in reference to the recent resistance of our government and others to the exaction of tolls at the entrance of the Baltic, that, for the privilege of passing round the coasts of Norway and Danish Lapland, the Muscovy Company were bound by treaty to pay to the King of Denmark a toll of one hundred rose nobles annually. The reason assigned for this charge was, that the establishment of the new route of trade had materially diminished the customary receipts at Elsinore. The Russians had then, however, no commercial ports on the Baltic; and the war with Sweden had closed the access through that sea.

Taking a course more northerly than those who had preceded him, he came first upon a small island, in latitude 74° 30′, to which he gave the name of Bear Island. This, upon English maps, is *Cherie* Island; so called by Stephen Bennet, seven years later, after his patron, Alderman Sir Francis Cherie, a distinguished member of the Muscovy Company. It became a place of great resort for the oil and ivory of the walrus, until the supply was exhausted, or found more abundant elsewhere. Continuing northwards, the Dutch again saw land, in latitude 79° 49′; which was supposed by them to be a part of Greenland, but which is now known by the name of *Spitzbergen*.

Returning to Bear Island, a division of opinion there occurred among the officers of the two vessels, and led to a separation. One of the ships, with Barents as pilot, went to Nova Zembla; where, being caught in the ice on the north-eastern side of the island, the Dutch passed a memorable winter. The incidents and sufferings attending this earliest sojourn by civilized men through the cold and darkness of an arctic night, whose experiences are recorded, if delineated with the graphic power of Kane, would form one of the most interesting narratives in maritime history. As told by De Veer, who was present, it is still, perhaps, entitled to that appellation. When the light and comparative warmth returned, finding it impossible to extricate their ship, they fitted up two boats, and, with great difficulty and danger, succeeded in reaching Kora in Lapland; where, to their great joy, they found their comrades. Barents, however, had perished by the way. Exhausted by illness and exposure, he died suddenly in the boat, while studying a chart of their course.

De Veer's account of the voyages of Barents has been reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, with an elaborate introduction and notes.<sup>7</sup> The editor states that the prior discovery of Spitzbergen by the Dutch is now universally admitted; and adds, "But that Spitzbergen was actually *circumnavigated* by them is a fact, which, as far as we are aware, has never been adverted to by any writer on arctic discovery."

It is against the fact that no such claim was advanced by De Veer, — who speaks of the country as "this land which we esteem to be *Greenland*," — and against the silence of writers (Dutch as well as others) on the point, that the editor has to make good his belief of circumnavigation from the narrative itself.

<sup>7 &</sup>quot;A True Description of Three Voyages, by the North-east, towards Cathay and China, undertaken by the Dutch in the Years 1594, 1595, and 1596. By Gerrit De Veer. Published at Amsterdam in the Year 1598; and, in 1609, translated into English by William Phillip. Edited by Charles T. Beke, Phil. D., F.S.A. London, 1853."

<sup>8</sup> Introduction, p. lxxxv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The editor remarks, that Gerard's imperfect account, published in De Bry's Collection, being better known to literary men than De Veer's original journal, "is doubtless the reason why the circumnavigation of Spitzbergen by Barents, &c., has hitherto remained unknown." This explanation is hardly satisfactory. It does not seem possible that De Veer's narrative can have been so little known or consulted. The admitted obscurity of the journal, which even the editor's labors have not made clear to a casual reader, seems a more natural explanation of the omission to observe so important a circumstance.

Without desiring to question the correctness of the British editor's theory, it may be proper to refer to some of the difficulties it has to encounter. It appears to involve the supposition, that 'Barents—who had determined the position of Bear Island with perfect accuracy—could have sailed round Spitzbergen without being aware of its entire isolation, or that the fact was unknown to his companion De Veer. If the plants and grass growing there, and "the beast that feed on grass," found in as high a latitude as 80°,—while at Nova Zembla, several degrees further south, none of either were seen (from which they inferred that ice and cold were not caused by proximity to the Pole),—had suggested the name of "Greenland," their discovery might very well have been so called, as the same name was often applied to different places. But

It does not appear that any specific name was given to the country by the Dutch at that period; although subsequently they called it *Spitzbergen*, on account of its sharply pointed mountains. To the English it continued to be Greenland, even after its entire separation from Greenland Proper was believed, and when it was also designated as "King James's Newland." It was sometimes termed *East* Greenland; and a distinction was observed by retaining the Danish diphthong in the name of the ancient country, which often degenerated from Groenland, or Groinland, to Groneland.<sup>2</sup>

After the establishment of trade with Russia by the Muscovy Company, the attention of the English was directed towards the *West*, in the hope of a passage north of the American Continent. Frobisher, Gilbert,

De Veer speaks of it only as a "part of Greenland," and as the "eastern part of Greenland;" implying ignorance of its being a distinct body of land. If he knew it to be an island, it is not easy to imagine why he should fail to report it as such. Editions of his narrative were printed in various languages, which are noticed in the publication of the Hakluyt Society. The account that appeared under the name of Gerard, in 1613 (see ante, p. 252, n.), — which the editor considers to have concealed, by its imperfections, the fact of circumnavigation, — is professedly taken from Barents's own notes, "escrit de la main propre de Guillaume Bernard." Although the truth of that assertion may be doubted, yet, as the object of the publication was to prove the right of the Dutch to possession of the country, it is remarkable that the incident of circumnavigation should not have been noticed, if it really happened.

<sup>1</sup> In the account of Hudson's Voyage, in 1607, he speaks of it as called *Newland* by the Hollanders. — *Purchas*, vol. iii. p. 571.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Whether Groenland was so named, by Eric the Red, because it seemed to him verdant as compared with Iceland, or simply because he thought the name would be attractive to his countrymen, is not quite clear. "Terram quam invenerat Groenlandiam (viridem terram) nominavit; dicebat enim, hanc rem hominibus suasuram eò demigrare, quod terra specioso nomine gauderet."— Antiquitates Americanæ, Particula de Eiriko Rufo, p. 13.

Intercourse with that part of Greenland which was colonized by the Danes has been prevented by the ice since the beginning of the fifteenth century; but Scoresby, who landed on the coast some degrees further north, found it richer in plants and verdure than any other seen by him within the Arctic Circle. The grass, in one place, was a foot in height; and there were meadows in several places, that appeared nearly equal to any in England.—Voyage of 1822.

and Davis made their several discoveries between the years 1576 and 1588.

The Dutch were not prompt in claiming and exercising their rights as discoverers in the north. In 1603, Bear or Cherie Island was rediscovered, as has been stated, and named by the English. In 1607, Henry Hudson, having been despatched in a course due north towards the Pole, rediscovered Spitzbergen; and sailed, with a small bark and a crew of ten men and a boy, to a higher latitude, it is asserted, than was afterwards reached by any navigator for more than two centuries.<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt's Headland, Whale Bay, and some other names still retained on the map, originated with him. In ranging homeward, he met with an island in the latitude of 71°, which he called Hudson's Touches.<sup>4</sup> A knowledge

Beechey, however, thinks Hudson was mistaken in his latitude, as he speaks of seeing land as high as 82°; whereas no part of Spitzbergen reaches even to 81°.— *Ibid.*, p. 267.

The highest point reached by Capt. Parry over the ice north of Spitzbergen, in 1827, was 82° 45′ north, in 19½° east; when he perceived that the movement of the whole body of the ice towards the south was bearing him back almost as rapidly as he advanced. He was, at that time, a hundred and seventy-two miles from his ship; and, as he had travelled the greater part of the distance several times over, he estimated that the same labor would have carried him nearly to the Pole, if the ice had been stationary.— Ibid., p. 198.

The examples collected by Daines Barrington (chiefly from the Dutch whale-fishers), of vessels having sailed much further towards the Pole, are not regarded by Scoresby as sufficiently well authenticated.—Scoresby's Arctic Regions, vol. i. p. 42. See also Barrington's Miscellanies,—papers read before the Royal Society in 1774 and 1775.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "A latitude which no ship after was able to approach for two hundred years, or until 1816; when Mr. Scoresby was the first to confirm the discoveries of Hudson."—
Beechey's Voyage of the Dorothea and Trent, p. 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Edge's account of Northern Discoveries, in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 464. As the fact does not appear in the journal of the voyage, as given by Purchas in the same volume, it may be that the statement of Edge is not correct. If Hudson really found an island in the latitude of 71°, it was doubtless Jan Mayen; whose discovery is attributed to the Dutch, as having been made four years later by the navigator whose name it bears. "When the Russia (Muscovy) Company attempted to monopolize the fishery of the whole of the polar countries, this island was granted by the king to the corporation of Hull as a fishing station."—Scoresby's Arctic Regions, vol. i. p. 154.

of the great abundance of whales in the harbors of Spitzbergen was derived from this voyage.

Hudson went again to the north in 1608; and then, for some unexplained reason, entered into the service of the Dutch.<sup>5</sup> He was sent to the same regions by them Hence it was as Heinrich or Hendrick Hudin 1609. son — a Hollander quoad hoc — that he made his celebrated exploration of the harbor of New York, and the great river that gives to his memory so prominent a place in our annals. Sailing first to the North Cape, on the usual course to Nova Zembla and Russia, he suddenly changed his mind, and, with that eccentric boldness which belonged to his nature, directed his little vessel — sometimes described as a fly-boat, or yacht across the Atlantic. The settlement of New Netherlands by the Dutch, and the prevalence of their names and blood in that section of our country, are the consequences of this voyage; forming another manifest link between the scenes and incidents properly connected with the present narrative and the planting of colonies on our shores. As a further coincidence, it may be mentioned, that it was in 1613 that the first buildings were erected on the Island of Manhattan, where now stands the commercial metropolis of this continent.6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Hollanders were constantly enticing English pilots and sailors into their service. Hudson's visit to Spitzbergen had probably attracted their attention.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> N. Y. Hist. Coll., vol. i., &c; O'Callaghan's New Netherlands; Brodhead's Hist. of New York; &c., &c. Smith's History of New York, besides being wrong in the date of Hudson's voyage, has the strange error of representing him as sailing under a commission from the King of England, and afterwards selling the country to the Dutch!

<sup>&</sup>quot;In most of the new branches of trade discovered by the English in the latter part of the sixteenth and the former part of the seventeenth century, we may observe that the Dutch followed close at their heels. This has been seen in the Russia trade,

Hudson's last voyage, from which he never returned, was made, at the charge of members of the Muscovy Company, in 1610. Having explored the Bay called after him, and attached to prominent localities within it the names of Smith, Digges, Wolstenholme, &c. (his patrons), — which have proved less permanent than his own, — he was set adrift in a boat by his mutinous crew, and perished, it is supposed, by cold or starvation.

After 1603, the Muscovy Company sent annually to Cherie Island for the mohorse, or morse (as the walrus was then called), until that animal grew comparatively scarce, and difficult to take: which might very well be the case, since Jonas Poole (the commander), in his accounts of these expeditions, speaks of slaving, at one time, seven or eight hundred of them in less than six hours; and again, nine hundred or a thousand in less than seven hours.<sup>7</sup> Such wholesale destruction would necessarily soon exhaust the supply to be derived from the beaches of a small island. Accordingly, in 1610, Poole was sent with one of the ships to Spitzbergen, and sailed along the western coast to a point in latitude 79° 50'; to which he gave the name of "Gurnard's Nose."8 His report of the "great store of whales, grampuses, mohorses, &c.," to be found there, created so much interest, that he was appointed on a stipend to

the north-east and north-west attempts for a passage to China, in planting America, in the circumnavigation of the globe, and in the East-India commerce." — *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 264.

<sup>7</sup> Purchas, vol. iii. p. 560,

<sup>8</sup> Gurnard, an acanthopterous fish, belonging to the genera *Trigla* (Linn.) and *Prionotus* (Cuv.); the latter being peculiar to America.— *New Am. Cyclopædia*, art. "Gurnard." There is a Gurnard's Nose at the south of England. The point near Plymouth, Mass., now known as the "Gurnet," was originally Gurnet's, or Gurnard's Nose.

conduct vessels to the new fishing ground, and to prosecute discoveries, with a commission as Grand Pilot.

Four ships, with one hundred and seven men and boys, including six Bask harpooners, were fitted out for Spitzbergen the following year; which is usually regarded as the beginning of the British whale-fishery. Two of the ships, however, were to go thence to Nova Zembla, and prosecute discoveries.

Of the two vessels remaining at Spitzbergen, one was wrecked, and the other overset and sank while lading. The crews would have fared ill but for the presence of a "Hull interloper," commanded by Thomas Marmaduke, which carried the men and a portion of their freight to London.

Hull was, and is, one of the most active commercial towns in England. Its merchants were among the first to engage in the fisheries; and, disregarding the monopoly of the Muscovy Company, they sent their ships wherever the fish were most plentiful.

There was, at this time, a class of independent pilots, who were ready to enter any service that offered the best pay. Sometimes they were in the employment of

<sup>9</sup> This is said to have been the first voyage undertaken expressly for that purpose. — Barrow's Chron. Hist., p. 226; Scoresby's Arctic Regions, vol. ii. p. 22; Purchas, vol. iii. p. 465. Of course, whales had been taken, long before, by the English; but not as a distinct and regular business. Anderson says, under date of 1593, "Some English ships now made a voyage to Cape Breton, at the entrance of the Bay of St. Lawrence, in America; some for morse-fishing, and others for whale-fishing, says Hakluyt: which is the first mention to be met with of the latter fishery by any English. And, although they found no whales there, they, however, discovered on an island eight hundred whale-fins, where a Biscay ship had been lost three years before; and this, too, is the first account we have of whale-fins, or whalebone, by the English. How the ladies' stays were made, before this commodious material was found out, does not appear. It is probable that slit pieces of cane, or some tough and pliant wood, might have been in use before." — Hist. of Com., vol. ii. p. 245.

the Muscovy Company; sometimes in that of the merchants of Hull; and sometimes they conducted the ships of Holland, France, or Spain. Thomas Marmaduke was one of these; another was Allen Sallowes; and another, Nicholas Woodcock. They were all apparently skilful navigators, and familiar with the Northern seas. Marmaduke was a discoverer; and, in 1612, went, according to Purchas, as far north as 82° in a Hull ship. He was with the expedition of 1613, as a servant of the Muscovy Company. Sallowes had been employed by the company in their Northern voyages for twenty years; but, "leaving his country for debt, was entertained by the Hollanders to bring them to Greenland for their pilot."2 Woodcock had been Poole's pilot in 1610, but piloted a Spanish ship in 1612, and is said to have been the cause of so many Dutch ships being at Spitzbergen the following year. For that offence, he was arrested, and suffered sixteen months' imprisonment in London.3

There seems to have been a general rush for the new fishing-ground, by vessels of various nations, in the summer of 1612; and it is remarkable, that the Dutch, who were the original discoverers of the country, should have been no less dependent than others upon English seamen for guidance.

At this juncture, the Muscovy Company, in addition to their privileges derived from previous patents, obtained a charter from King James, excluding all others, whether natives or aliens, from participating in the fisheries;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Poole's Narrative (in Purchas), vol. iii. p. 714.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Purchas, vol. iii. p. 466.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 464.

and lost no time in seeking to maintain their own right, and that of the English crown, to control this important trade in its Northern localities.

The expedition of 1613, to which we have now arrived, was therefore fitted out with unusual care, and intrusted to the charge of some of the ablest men in the service. Besides the chief captain, Benjamin Joseph, William Baffin, and the author of our narrative, it was accompanied by Thomas Edge, who had already twice sailed to Spitzbergen. Purchas was indebted to Edge for the map of the coast inserted in his work; and also for a summary of Northern discoveries, which appears in the same volume. Baffin was attached to the ship of the commander of the fleet; and from that circumstance, apart from his personal reputation and the value of his scientific observations, his journal would naturally be the one selected for publication. The author of our account was in another vessel, often separated from the rest. He thus experienced a different series of incidents, or observed the same from a different point of view. Our manuscript has upon it no name to indicate its authorship. A leaf at the beginning, of which only a fragment remains, may have contained this information; as a few words of writing are still left, showing that a portion of both sides must have been originally covered. The circumstantial evidence pointing to Robert Fotherby as its author, is, however, nearly decisive. In the third volume of the "Pilgrimes" of Purchas are descriptions of the country, and of the business of whale-fishery as there conducted, so similar in thought and expression to those of our

manuscript, that they cannot have come from a different source, allowance being made for the alterations and transpositions to which Purchas habitually subjected his materials. In a marginal note, he says, "I have found this description of Greenland [Spitzbergen], with other notes, written by Robert Fotherby." The reader of our narrative will be convinced that no part of it is borrowed; the writer's personality being manifest in every statement or description. Some passages from Purchas will be given in the proper place, to show that the accounts are substantially the same.

Little is known of Fotherby's private history. He was the author of the narratives of the two succeeding voyages; where the style very much resembles that of our manuscript. In the expedition of 1614, he and Baffin were engaged together in exploring the northern extremities of the island, and went in boats and over the ice as far as Sir Thomas Smith's Inlet; which is apparently the same as Henlopen Strait, although they supposed they saw the end of it at a depth of ten leagues. They took formal possession of the country on behalf of the Muscovy Company; and Fotherby drew "a plat" of a portion of the coast, which Purchas omitted, on the usual plea of its being "too costly" a matter to engrave it.

After this (his second voyage to Spitzbergen), Baffin went no more in that direction, but accompanied Bylot to the west side of Greenland Proper, where he explored the sea since designated as Baffin's Bay.

<sup>4</sup> Pilgrimes, vol. iii. p. 472.

In 1615, Fotherby was alone in the charge of the vessel detailed for discovery.<sup>5</sup> Being unable to penetrate the ice north of Spitzbergen, he swept round by the coast of Greenland; and, meeting with the Island of Jan Mayen, rebaptized it with the ubiquitous name of Sir Thomas Smith. He corrected some of Hudson's observations in that quarter, and made a map of his course, which Purchas failed to insert. As he is not mentioned again, he probably died without making another voyage; leaving papers to which Purchas had access, and which he used to such extent as he found convenient for his purpose.

The name of Fotherby is a rare one in England, and limited, so far as we have discovered, to one stock, seated in the counties of Lincoln and Kent. John Fotherby, of Burton Stather in Lincolnshire, had two sons (Martin and Robert), whose children appear as of Kent. Martin had two sons, — Charles, Archdeacon of Canterbury; and Martin, Bishop of Salisbury.<sup>6</sup> As the archdeacon is said to have had ten children, — of whom only one son and four daughters survived at his death in 1619, — it is possible that Robert Fotherby, the navigator, may have been one of the deceased sons, and named for his father's uncle. The evidences of classical as well as mathematical culture which his narratives exhibit indicate a careful education and refined habitudes, that accord with such a supposition. As a

<sup>6</sup> Berry's County Genealogies (Kent), p. 268.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Purchas, vol. iii. p. 728. Barrow, evidently by accident, has the name of Baffin, instead of Fotherby, in his reference to this voyage. In the years 1615 and 1616, Baffin was with Bylot at the west of Greenland. The error is repeated by Beechey.

younger son in a large household, he would be not unlikely to enter the merchant service, and be trained to a seafaring life. The local influences of Kent must have had a strong tendency to excite a taste for maritime adventure. Sir Francis Walsingham, the Sidneys, Richard Chancelor, Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Dudley Digges, were all men of Kent by origin or residence; and this local grouping of some of the most distinguished promoters of naval enterprise favors the supposition, that Fotherby may have belonged to that county.<sup>7</sup>

The manuscript journal, which we venture to believe was written by Robert Fotherby, is an uncommonly neat

<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to notice the family ties that united so many of these men of grand ideas and great undertakings. Chancelor was brought up by Sir Henry Sidney, and, on his recommendation, was employed in Willoughby's expedition. - Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 271. One of the daughters of Sir Francis Walsingham was the wife of Sir Philip Sidney; another married Christopher Carlisle, who anticipated Raleigh in his plans of colonization, and, in the same year that Sir Humphrey Gilbert went to Newfoundland (1583), published a scheme for the transportation of a colony to this country, which he proposed to conduct in person. - Ibid., vol. iii. p. 228 et seq. Sir Philip Sidney was prevented from engaging personally in a similar enterprise, only by the prohibition of the Queen. Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Dudley Digges were kinsmen. The widow of Sir Thomas Smith married Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, brother of Sir Philip, and grandfather of Algernon Sidney; and his eldest son married a daughter of Robert, Earl of Warwick, one of the Council of New England. His grandson married a grand-daughter of the same Robert Sidney who became the husband of his widow. The last direct descendant of this branch is said to have been Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1777. But the two names of Sidney and Smith - which, in later times, have obtained a united distinction in literature and in arms - were cemented, at that period, by still another alliance. A nephew of Sir Thomas Smith was created a peer of Ireland in 1628, with the title of Viscount Strangford; and the son and heir of the viscount married Barbara Sidney, a daughter of the same Robert who married Sir Thomas Smith's widow. The present (or recent) Viscount Strangford, Percy Clinton Sidney Smith, is the son of an American lady; his father, who was in the English Army during our Revolution, having married Mary Eliza, daughter of Frederic Phillips, Esq., of New York. - Berry's Genealogies; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, 1847. We may remark, that the grand-daughter of Robert Sidney, whom the grandson of Sir Thomas Smith married, as above stated, was the "Sacharissa" of the poet Waller. She first married the Earl of Sunderland.

specimen of chirography; and the illustrations in watercolors are sketched with a good deal of spirit. The page is of folio size, with wide margins; and the leaves are carefully stitched into a thick parchment cover. The map of Spitzbergen — probably the earliest of that island — is unfortunately mutilated. An effort has been made to restore the parts that are lost, with the aid of Edge's later chart in the third volume of Purchas.8 At what time and in what manner the manuscript came to this country, is not known. It was formerly in possession of Deacon James Green, a prominent merchant of Boston, who died about the beginning of the present century. His daughter, Mrs. Nabby Richmond, gave it to Benjamin R. Howland in 1808. From him it passed to Hon. John Howland, the late venerable President of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, who transferred it to the American Antiquarian Society in 1814. It has always been regarded with great interest by its various possessors. It is the story of a pleasant summer excursion to a region of perils, without being marked itself by any very moving incidents, or recording any exciting experiences of sufferings or hairbreadth escapes.

The Muscovy Company did not succeed in maintaining an exclusive right to the Spitzbergen fisheries. In 1614, the Dutch sent eighteen great ships, — four of them men-of-war, — which "stayed and fished perforce." In 1615, three armed vessels, belonging to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Edge's map contains portions of the country, on the east side, which were not discovered till 1617. The map in the manuscript apparently embraced what was known of the coast after Fotherby's explorations in 1614.

that hereditary telonarius, the King of Denmark, came to the fishing-grounds to demand a toll of the English; which was boldly refused by Fotherby, although they threatened to shoot down his flag.<sup>9</sup> During the next two years, the company made little profit, on account of the competition; but added to their discoveries Edge's Island and Wyche's Land, on the easterly side of Spitzbergen. In 1618, a division of the coasts and harbors, for fishery, was made among the English, Dutch, Danes, Hamburgers, Spanish, and French.

The inducements for a continuance of the trade by the Muscovy Company were thus greatly diminished, particularly as they had on hand sundry other branches of traffic which had become very lucrative. The larger mercantile enterprises of this period appear to have been managed by nearly the same individuals. In 1581, a number of eminent merchants were incorporated for trade with Turkey; and, in 1605, received a perpetual charter from King James as the merchants of England trading to the Levant seas. This corporation still exists, under the name of the Levant or Turkey Company. Their ordinary returns are said to have been three to one upon the investments. In 1599, the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and principal merchants of London, to the number of about one hundred, formed an association for trade with the East Indies. This was incorporated in 1600 as the East-India Company, since so famous; and Sir Thomas Smith, who had been one of the lead-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Letter of Fotherby to Capt. Edge (Purchas, vol. iii. p. 731). Edge himself claimed the credit of this denial; and says these were the first Danish vessels that ever came to that country, and they were piloted by an Englishman. — *Ibid.*, p. 467.

ing men concerned in the Turkey Company, was appointed its first governor.

Although the first voyages of the East-India Company were not fortunate, they began, as early as 1609, to make immense profits; ranging from a hundred and twenty-one to three hundred and forty per cent for several years in succession. It was in 1613 that they obtained a firman from the Great Mogul for a factory at Surat, and also equal privileges from the Emperor of Japan. Before then, although acting in the name of the company, each member took what venture or risk he chose. It was then resolved that all future voyages should be on account of the whole company.<sup>1</sup>

The attention of these merchants might therefore very naturally be diverted from the commerce of Spitzbergen, becoming comparatively unproductive as it ceased to be a monopoly. Accordingly, a new combination was formed, — consisting of a mixed body of English, Scotch, and Zealanders, the Muscovy Company, and the East-India Company, — who undertook to conduct the fishery business jointly. But the arrangement was unsuccessful; and, in 1619, the trade was assumed by four members of the Muscovy Company, the experienced Capt. Edge being one of the number. These individuals, after a year or two, were discouraged by shipwrecks and other disasters; and the business, so far as any English companies were concerned, began to decline, although prosecuted by the merchants of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Pict. Hist. of England (National Industry), book vi. chap. iv., and book vii. chap. iv.; and Anderson's Chron. Hist. of Commerce, in loco.

Hull, and other private adventurers, on their own account. The fishery had come to be virtually free to any one who chose to engage in it; and, not many years later, the trade was formally laid open to all adventurers.

A description of Spitzbergen, condensed from Mr. Scoresby's "Account of the Arctic Regions," may suitably conclude these introductory notes:—

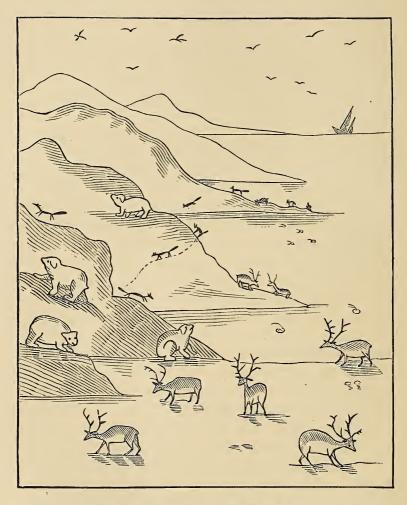
"Spitzbergen extends farthest towards the north of any country yet discovered. It is surrounded by the Arctic Ocean, or Greenland Sea; and does not appear to have ever been inhabited. It lies between the latitudes 76° 30′ and 80° 7′ north, and between the longitudes of 9°, and perhaps 22°, east; but some of the neighboring islands extend at least as far north as 80° 40′, and still farther towards the east than the mainland.

"This country exhibits many interesting views, with numerous examples of the sublime. Its stupendous hills, rising by steep acclivities from the very margin of the ocean to an immense height; its surface, contrasting the native, protruding, dark-colored rocks with the burden of purest snow and magnificent ices, — altogether constitute an extraordinary and beautiful picture.

"The whole of the western coast is mountainous and picturesque; and, though it is shone upon by a four-months' sun every year, its snowy covering is never wholly dissolved. The valleys - opening towards the coast, and terminating in the background with a transverse chain of mountains - are chiefly filled with everlasting ice. Along the west coast, the mountains take their rise from within a league of the sea, and some from its very edge. Few tracts of tableland of more than a league are to be seen; and, in many places, the blunt terminations of the mountain ridges project beyond the regular line of the coast, and overhang the waters of the ocean. The southern part of Spitzbergen consists of groups of insulated mountains, frequently terminating in points, and occasionally in acute peaks not unlike spires; but a low flat, of about forty square miles in surface, constitutes the termination of the coast. The middle of Charles's Island is occupied by a mountain chain about thirty miles in length. Along the northern shore of Spitzbergen, and towards the north-east, the land is neither so elevated, nor are the hills so sharp-pointed, as on the western coast. The central part of the chain of mountains in Charles's Island is a very interesting part of the coast. These mountains — which are, perhaps, the highest land adjoining the sea, which is to be met with — take their rise at the water's edge; and by a continued ascent of an angle at first of about 30°, and increasing to 45°, each comes to a point, with the elevation of about six-sevenths of an English mile. The points formed by two or three of them are so fine, that the imagination is at a loss to conceive of a place on which an adventurer, attempting the hazardous exploit of climbing one of the summits, might rest.

"Some of the mountains of Spitzbergen are well-proportioned, foursided pyramids; others form angular chains resembling the roof of a house, which recede from the shore in parallel ridges, until they dwindle into obscurity in the distant perspective. Some exhibit the exact resemblance of art, but in a style of grandeur exceeding the famed Pyramids of the East, or even the more wonderful Tower of Babel.

"The climate of Spitzbergen is, no doubt, more disagreeable to human feeling than that of any other country yet discovered. Extending to within ten degrees of the Pole, it is generally intensely cold; and even in the three warmest months, the temperature not averaging more than  $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , it is then subject to a cold occasionally of three, four, or more degrees below the freezing point. It has the advantage, however, of being visited by the sun for an uninterrupted period of four months in each year. But its winter is proportionally desolate; the sun in the northern parts of the country remaining perpetually below the horizon from about the 22d of October to about the 22d of February."



 $\ensuremath{\text{Note}}.$  — The illustrations attached to this document have been reduced about one-half from the size of the originals.

## A SHORT DISCOURSE

OF A

VOYAGE MADE IN THE YEARE OF OUR LORD 1613 TO THE LATE-DISCOVERED COUNTRYE OF GREENLAND; 1

AND A

BREIFE DISCRIPTION OF THE SAME COUNTRIE, AND THE COMODITIES

THER RAISED TO THE ADUENTURERS.

In the moneth of May, 1613, seauen good ships, bound for Greenland, were sett forth from the port of London; being furnished w<sup>th</sup> vitualls and other provision necessarie for the killing of the whale, and 24 Basks, who are men best experienced in that facultie, at the chardge and aduenture of the right worshipfull S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smyth, knight, and the rest of the companie of merchaunts tradeing into Moscouia, called the Merchants of Newe Trades and Discoueries.

In this fleet, Mr. Beniamin Joseph, of London, was cheife captaine and comissioner,—a man very sufficient, and worthy of his place.<sup>3</sup> A shippe called the Tiger, of burthen 260 tonnes, was admirall; the Mathew, of 250 tonnes, vice-admirall; and the Gamaliell, of 200 tonnes, rere-admirall; the fourth, the John and Francis, of 180 tonnes; the 5<sup>th</sup>, the Desire, of 180 tonnes; the 6<sup>th</sup>, the Anula, of 140 tonnes; and

<sup>1</sup> Spitzbergen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Basks, or Biscayans, had long been accustomed to capture a species of whale in the Bay of Biscay; and, as these became less abundant there, they gradually followed them into more Northern seas. They were among the earliest to pursue the fishery on the coasts of Newfoundland and New England. They were regarded as most expert in the use of the harpoon, and were also skilful coopers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Capt. Joseph commanded in two subsequent voyages. Purchas says he was slain in a fight with a Carrick (vol. iii. p. 716).

the 7th, the Richard and Barnard, a piniace of 60 tonnes, intended for further discourrye.

Wee came to Grauesend the 30<sup>th</sup> of April, where wee staied but one tide, and then weyed anchor about 6 a-clock at the euening, and plied to Tilberry Hope, remaining there all night. The next morneing, being the first of Maye, wee anchored againe in Lee Roade, where wee continued till the 4<sup>th</sup> of Maye; the winde keeping contrarie to us, betwixt north and north-east.

The 4<sup>th</sup> daie, about 3 a-clock afternoone, wee entered into the Swaile at Quinborowe, 4 and rid at anchor ther till the 13<sup>th</sup> of Maye. In w<sup>ch</sup> time, — namelie, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of Maye, — the king's ships came by us in their retourne out of Holland from transporting the Count Palatine, and the Ladie Elizabeth, the king's onely daughter. Before they came neare us, wee caused our flaggs to be furl'd up; and, when they passed by us, our admirall shott off 7 peeces of ordnance; our vice-admirall, 5; and our rere-admirall, 3; and the rest of our fleet, ech of them, one. The Great Admirall of England, called the Prince, gave us 3 peeces; and the rest of the king's ships, ech of them, one.<sup>5</sup>

The 13<sup>th</sup> of Maye, about 9 a-clock in the morneing, wee came forth of the Swaile, and passed by the Sandes called the Spitts, holdeing our course north-east and nor-north-east.

The 14<sup>th</sup> daie, about noone, wee lost sight of Our departure from England. Cromersheild, w<sup>ch</sup> is a cape on the coast of Norfolke, and was the last land of England that we sawe, being outward bound. Then wee stear'd awaie north, maintaineing that course till the 22<sup>d</sup> of Maye.

<sup>4</sup> Queenborough.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Princess Elizabeth, who was destined to experience so much misfortune, was married to the Count Palatine, Frederic V., on St. Valentine's Day, with an expense and magnificence before unknown in England. They were conveyed to Flanders in great state by the Lord-Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, with eight of the king's ships, besides transports for baggage.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> daie, wee had sight of land againe upon the coast of Norwaye, before wee came to the Baye of Rosse, beareing from us east and by north, and distant about 9 leagues, in the latitude of 61 degrees and 20 minutes, found by observation. Then, on the 22<sup>d</sup>, wee directed our course more easterlie, as north-and-by-east and nor-north-east.

The 24th, were were in the latitude of 67 degr. and 36 minutes, where the sunne was in the horison at the time of midnight; and, after that time, were had continuall dailight dureing our voyage; till, in our retourne homeward, were had the sunne againe in the circle of the horison, when he came to the north of our meridian, in the latitude of 75 degrees, on the 2 of August.

The 30<sup>th</sup> of Maye, about 4 a-clock in the morneing, wee discried our wisht-for coast of Greenland, being all our ships in company; and wee had bene but 17 daies at sea, — viz., from the 13<sup>th</sup> till the 30<sup>th</sup> of Maye: haueing sailed, according to the difference of latitude and longitude by an arch of a great circle, 500 leagues; and according to the ship's way, by our account on dead reconeing, 514 leagues.

Then wee plied nearer to the shoare, and discerned the mountaines to be couered w<sup>th</sup> snowe: notwithstanding wee had no trouble w<sup>th</sup> ice all this while, as wee expected; for it was almost all voided er wee came ther. Nowe wee coasted along towards S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smyth's Baye, passing on the west side of Prince Charles his Iland, by reason of a barre that is betwixt the iland and the maine continent of the land, w<sup>ch</sup> hinders us to passe w<sup>th</sup> our ships that waie.

The 1<sup>st</sup> of June, wee were becalm'd on the south-west side of the iland, about 5 leagues from the shoare, where I observed the north sunne at the time of midnight to be 11 degr. and 15 minutes high; so concludeing the latitude in that

<sup>6</sup> Spitzbergen.

place to be 78 degr. and 5 minutes (the sunne's declinacon for that daie being 23 degr. 10 minutes).

The 2<sup>d</sup> of June, haueing gotten a little more northward, and being on the west side of the iland, againe becalm'd, about 3 leagues distant from shoare, I and Joh. Wilmote, one of the master's mates, w<sup>th</sup> 6 more of our sailors, went ashoare in a Biska shallop, purposeing to kill some deare and some wilde fowle: and, to that end, wee took w<sup>th</sup> us such dogs as wee had in our ship,\*—viz., a grewhownd, a mastiffe, and a water-spaniell; and two fowleing-peeces, w<sup>th</sup> shott and pouder.

Wee landed upon a hard shingle, comeing close to the shoare w<sup>th</sup> our boat, ther being no ice to keepe us off; not-withstanding, upon 5 or 6 rocks neare the shoare-side, ther laie a great quantitie of ice, w<sup>ch</sup> couered them in such sorte, that the hollownes or distances betwixt one rock and another apeared under the ice like vaulted caues. After that wee were landed upon the shingle, the ice, or congealed snowe, was so high upon the shoare, that it withstood us like a strong wall to passe anie further: wherefore wee were faine one to help up another, it being more then a man's height in thicknes, and haueing manie long isicles hanging in divers places.

When wee were up, and had gon about 2 roods, wee might preave that wee were upon the ground, or sand; yett could not well see it, by reason of the snowe. Then did wee look about if wee could see anie deare; and presentlie espied one buck: whereupon wee dispersed ourselves severall waies, to gett betwixt him and the mountaines; slipping sometimes to the midleg into the snowe, we for the most parte, did beare us aboue. In our waie, wee went over 2 or 3 bare spotts that were full of flatt stones, whereon there grewe a certaine white mosse, we, it seemes, the deare doe feed upon at the first beginning of their somer; for theise spotts were full of their ordure: and, besides, wee then sawe not any other thing for them to live on.

Before that wee came neare the buck wch wee first espied. wee sawe 4 more not farre from him, and 2 in another place; and therfore wee hounded at the fairest heard: but then they came all one waie together, and (avoiding all circumstances) wee kil'd three of them, being all bucks, wen wee found then to be but pore rascals, yet verie good meat, as wee presentlie made tryall, and tasted. For, finding ther (as ther is in all places of the countrye) great store of driftwood, we'n the sea bestowes on the barren land, and being also well prouided of hunter's sauce, wee made a fier, and broiled some of our venison, and did eat therof wth verie good appetites; much like to that, in Virgil, of Æneas and his companions:—

"Ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates \* Suscepitq. ignem lignis;"†...... Pars in frusta secant, verubusque ‡ trementia figunt. Tum victu reuocamus vires."

\* Master's mate.

† Folia enim nulla cadunt, ubi est neq. flos nec arbos.

‡ Wooden spitts.

Being thus well refreshed, wee were willing to have killed more venison, because wee needed not to use much labour in hunteing for our game; for the deare that had latelie escaped us were not gon farre from us. But the aire began to be so thick and foggie, that wee aduised better to goe presentlie a-board wth that wch wee had alreadie gotten, least that the fog, increaseing, might have made us loose sight of our ship: therfore wee made speedie waie towards her, and came aboard about 11 a-clock before the time of midnight.

Then wee continued still becalm'd till the next morning, and then were so befriended wth a fresh gale of winde, that wee sailed to the north end of the iland wth a flowen sheat; and, makeing manie boards, wee plied into Sr Tho. Smyth's Baye, where wee anchored about 8 a-clock that euening.

in Sr Tho. Smyth's Baye.

When wee were come to an anchor, then the Basks, our whale-strikers, went presentlie back againe to

the Foreland wth their shallops, ther to attend the comeing-in of the whales; and, when our men had taken some rest, they carried ashoare our coppers, cask, and other provisions for makeing of oile, and prepared all things readie for use as speedilie as wee could. For newes was brought us in the morneing, that the Basks had kil'd a whale: therefore wee hasted to sett up our fournaces and coppers, and presentlie began work; went wee continued (God be thanked), without anie want of whales, till our voyage was made; not receaueing anie intermission of rest but onelie on the Saboth daie. For, when some slept, others wrought; and, haueing a continuall daie, wee alowed no time of night for all men to sleepe at once, but maintained work from Sundaye about 5 a-clock, afternoone, till Saturdaye at 12 a-clock in time of midnight; dureing weh time our men receaued no other recreation from work and sleepe but onelie the time of eateing their meat, whereof they had sufficient, thrice in every 24 howers: besides, some of them had alowed aquauitæ at ech 4 howers' end.

The next daie after that wee came into harbour, word was brought to our generall from Green Harbour (a place where 3 ships of our fleet put in to make their voyage), that 5 ships, French and Spanish, were come into Ice Sound, and intended ther to fish for the whale: upon w<sup>ch</sup> occasion, the Tiger, our admirall, weyed anchor the 5<sup>th</sup> of June, and, being well man'd w<sup>th</sup> 60 sufficient men, went out of harbour from us towards Ice Sound; where, when he came, he found the aforesaid ships according to the information, and anchored close by them. Then he hailed the captaines and masters of theise ships to come presentlie aboard him: w<sup>ch</sup> they performeing accordinglie, he shewed them the king's ma<sup>ties</sup> patent graunted to the Merchants of Newe Trades and Discoueries, and therwithall his comission; forbidding them, by the authoritie

<sup>7</sup> The northern extremity of Prince Charles's Island.

therof, to make anie longer aboad ther, or in anie parte of the country, at their perills. Whereupon they, not knowing howe to remedie themselves, did all promise to departe, desireing a note from our general wherby they might certefie their setters-forth that they had bene in the countrye; except one ship of Burdeux, called the Jaques, wherof was maister, Peirce de Siluator, who was permitted to staie upon condition that he should first kill 8 whales for us, and then to kill more what he could for himself. And, by this conclusion, he made a good voyage: for he kil'd 12 whales in all; whereof wee had 8, and he had 4.

Then did our admirall continue as a wafter alongst the coast till the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, and then he came to us againe into S' Thomas Smyth's Baye. In w<sup>ch</sup> time of his absence, he had mett w<sup>th</sup> 17 ships; viz., 4 of Holland, 2 of Dunkerk, 4 of St. John de Luz, and 7 of St. Sebastian's. The commanders of all those ships had submitted to our general, and were content either to departe out of the country, or els to staie upon such condicons as he propounded unto them.

On the 8 of June, about 11 a-clock before the time of midnight, Mr. Marmaduke<sup>8</sup> — who was captaine of our vice-admirall — and I, w<sup>th</sup> 6 or 7 sailers, went in a shallop to the beach at the Barre, marked w<sup>th</sup> a,<sup>9</sup> to cause our men gather driftwood together, and laie it readie at the water-side to lade a small Flemish flieboat that was to come hither to fetch it. Upon this beach, wee saw lieing ther, by our estimacon, neare 300 morses, at the verie pointe or end of it; but wee would not goe too neare them for disturbing them. When the flieboat was come to take in the wood, Mr. Marmaduke and I came awaie in the shallop; and haueing present occasion to use a peice of straight timber about our

8 Thomas Marmaduke (see ante, p. 274).

<sup>9</sup> The Bar may be seen upon the map; but the letter a is wanting.

crane, before the flieboat could be laded, wee caused the men that rowed the shallop to towe a tree after them. Nowe, when wee had put off a little from the shoare, ther came 5 or 6 morses swimming hard by us and about us; some of them coming so neare the sterne of the bote, that we called for our launces, purposeing to strike them. They would divers times laie their teeth upon the tree w<sup>ch</sup> wee towed (as it were, scratching the wood w<sup>th</sup> their teeth); but wee still rowed awaie, and at length they left us. Then wee passed thorow a great deale of small ice, and sawe, upon some peices, two morses; and upon some, one; and also divers seales, layeing upon peices of ice.

The 19th of June, wee had a verie great storme, — the winde being at south-south-west, — wch was like to have driven our ships upon the shoare; and, haveing 3 dead whales floating at the sternes of our ships, wee were glad to cutt the hausers that they were tyed in, and to lett them drive a shoare, because wee feared otherwise that they would have caused our ships either to break their cables or to haile home their anchors, and so be driven upon the shoare. When the storme ceast, haueing continued about 6 howers, the water fell from the shoare; and wee sawe two of the whales lie cast upon the shoare, and the water falne from them againe. The third whale was driven further off; but wee found him againe cast also upon the shoare, haueing lost almost all his finnes<sup>1</sup> out of his mouth. Ther was also, at the same time, 5 whales' heads driven ashoare, wth toungs and finnes in them; whereby some labour was saued, weh should otherwise haue bene bestowed about hailing them ashoare for the cutting-out of the finnes.

The 21<sup>st</sup> of June, ther came a white beare downe from the mountaines, and took into Fresh-water Baye; w<sup>ch</sup> is the water

<sup>1</sup> Whalebone, then called whale's fins.

you see marked w<sup>th</sup> e, w<sup>th</sup>in S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smyth's Baye: <sup>2</sup> and Thomas Wilkinson, one of the master's mates in the Mathew, vice-admiral, went forth in a shallop, and shott him w<sup>th</sup> a peece as he was swimming, and kil'd him, and brought him to the shoare.

In this harbour, ther haue bene killed more whales than in anie other, but verie fewe deare; notwithstanding ther hath bene slaine in the country, this voyage, about 400 deare. Wee kil'd very fewe morses, by reason the whales came in so fast that wee could not have a fitt oportunitie to goe about that buisines; although ther was said to be, at one time, about 500 morses upon the beach before mencioned: to weh place wee went, prepared for their slaughter, the sixt of Julie; and found ther but about 40, whereof were killed 32; and wee took their hides, their fat, and their teeth.

Wee killed also good store of wilde fowle; as wilde-geese, culuerdumes, willocks, and such like; and some white land-partridges. Wee caught manie young foxes, we wee made as tame and familiar as spaniell-whelpes. I brought one of them out of the country, till wee came on the coast of England; and then he died.

On the 24th of June, the Mathew began to take in hir ladeing; and was fullie fraighted the 6th of July wth 184 tonnes of oyle, and 5,000 finnes, wth were in 100 bundles, ech containing 50.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, the Mathewe, and the Richard and Barnard (w<sup>ch</sup> was also laded w<sup>th</sup> oyle and anchor out of Sr Tho. Smyth's Baye, w<sup>th</sup> purpose to come presentlie for England; and the Tiger, our admiral, came also forth w<sup>th</sup> us to waft us alongst the coast of Greenland.<sup>3</sup> But, putting into Bel Sound the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The position here referred to belonged to a part of the map that was mutilated; and, although the outline has been restored, the locality above mentioned cannot be precisely indicated.

<sup>3</sup> By Greenland, in this narrative, is always meant Spitzbergen.

11<sup>th</sup> of July, expecting to finde some strangers ther, wee espied accordinglie 5 ships at anchor on the west side of Joseph's Bay. One of them seemed unto us to be a verie great ship; as, indeed, she was: and other two of them seemed also to be good stowt ships. And therefore wee, supposing them to be such as would withstand us, resolved to feight w<sup>th</sup> them; and made speedie preparation accordinglie, hanging out our waist-cloths and clearing our decks, that the ordnance might have roome to plaie; and made readie all our munition, ech one addressing himself w<sup>th</sup> a forward resolucon to performe a man's parte so well as he could.

This was about 9 a-clock before the time of midnight, the sunne shineing very bright, and the aire being very cleare, and so calme, that wee caused ye saylers, wth boats and shallops, to rowe ahead of our ships, and towe them into the harbour. When wee came neare them, the captaine of the great ship, whose name was Michael de Aristega (his ship being of St John de Luz, of burthen 800 tonnes), came in a shallop abord our admirall, submitting himself and his goods unto our generall; and tould him that ther were two ships of the Hollanders, who had insulted ouer him, and would not suffer him to fish for the whale, but upon such condicons as they propounded unto him: namely, that the Hollanders, haueing but 3 shallops, and he 7 furnished wth whale-strikers, they should all ioine together; and the Hollanders not onelie to have the one-half of all the whales that should be kil'd, but also to have the first whale that was stricken wholie to themselues, ouer and besides the half of the rest. And he further tould the general, that the Hollanders would have persuaded him to combine wth them against us, and to beate us out of the countrye. Then the generall willed him to goe aboard againe of his owne ship, and keepe his men in quietnes, and he would deale well enough with the Hollanders. So,

passing further on, they were knowen to be 2 ships of Amsterdam, weh our admirall had formerlie mett withall, and dischardged to staie in ye country. Then, comeing by close to them, our admirall anchored on the one side of them, and our vice-admirall on the other Wee anchored againe in side; but they, as men unwilling to be deprived of the ritches they had gotten, allthough unable by force to hold them, kept out their flags, - the one in the maine-top and the other in the fore-top, as admirall and vice-admirall. Then our generall comaunded the maisters to come aboard his ship: weh they doeing, he chardged them wth the breach of their promise formerlie made unto him; viz., that they would departe out of the country. some other speeches, he, not finding them willing to resigne the goods they had gotten, - as whale oile and finnes, tould them that they must not think to carrie anie of it awaie, seeing that they did so sleightlie esteeme the king's maties grant formerlie shewed them: therefore he bad them goe againe to their owne ships, and they should have half an hower's space to consider and aduise wth themselues what to doe; and, if that they thought fitt to give him further answer before the glasse were runne out, then good it were; otherwise, if they would not then yield their goods, he would feight wth them for them. So ech of them went aboard his own ship, and, without anie long deliberation, caused their flags to be taken in; and, retourning to our generall, yeilded their goods to his disposing. Nowe, although it was intended that our two laded ships should goe presentlie for England, notwithstanding, it was thought fitting not to leave our admirall alone amongst his offended neighbours; and therfore wee staied till the two Hollanders were gon, who (being dispossessed of some oile and finnes they had alreadie stowed in their ships, and also of some dead whales that were floateing at their ships' side) went forth of harbour,

one of them the 15th, and the other the 18th, of July.

The great ship of St. John de Luz staied still; the captaine of hir being content that his men should hould on their work, and his whale-strikers to continue fishing, upon condicon granted that he should have onelie one-half of all the oile w<sup>ch</sup> he should make.<sup>4</sup> Ther were also in the same harbour 2 small ships, — the one of Biska, and the other a Flemish flie-boat; besides another little pinace, of St. John de Luz, w<sup>ch</sup> was on the east side of the iland, within L. Elesmere Baye, marked with b.

On the 23<sup>d</sup> of July, about 9 a-clock in the euening, wee sent forth 2 shallops, w<sup>th</sup> men, to goe kill some venison; who retourned againe w<sup>th</sup> 17 bucks and does slaine: yet had they no dog w<sup>th</sup> them, but onelie peeces. And they brought also aboard the skinne of a white beare w<sup>ch</sup> they had kil'd.

The 25<sup>th</sup> of July, the Desire came to us into Joseph's Bay out of Green Harbour, and tooke in 30 tonnes of blubber to make up hir full ladeing; for shee was to come w<sup>th</sup> us, one of the first, for England.

The 29<sup>th</sup> of July, wee had some trouble w<sup>th</sup> great ice; the water being verie rough, and the winde bloweing hard at east-south-east, w<sup>ch</sup> brought some ilands of ice towards our ships, wherof some fell 'thwart our hauses: so that wee were faine, w<sup>th</sup> pikes and oares, to keepe it cleare of our ships; and also glad to lett fall our sheat-anchor, to keep us from being driven upon the lee shoare.

In this harbour, ther was killed great store of venison, 3 or 4 white beares, and some sea-morses, we the Hollanders

<sup>4</sup> Baffin says in his narrative, that the Holland ships would have fought if the Spanish ship would have stood by them. The apparent want of spirit of the Spaniards may be explained by the following passage from Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts: "The King of Spain is so cautious not to give offence, that when Greenland (Spitzbergen) was discovered by the English, and some of his Biscay subjects repaired thither to kill the whale for oil, — being more expert than any other nation, — the king, considering what wrong was done to the King of England by it, and that it might concern him in the like case to have the Indies encroached upon, prohibited his subjects from going to Greenland to molest or hinder the English in their fishing." — Churchill's Coll., vol. iii. p. 344.

had slaine and flayed before wee came thither; for ther laie their bodies, without either fatt, skinnes, or teeth.

One thing more I observed in this harbor, we'l I have thought good also to sett downe. Purposeing, on a time, to walk towards the mountaines, I, and two more in my companie, ascended up a long plaine hill, as wee supposed it to be; but, haueing gon a while upon it, wee perceaued it to be ice. Notwithstanding, wee proceeded higher up, about the length of half a mile; and, as wee went, sawe manie deepe rifts or gutters in the land of ice, wen were crackt downe thorowe to the ground, or, at the least, an exceeding great depth; as we might well perceaue by hearing the snowewater runne belowe, as it does oftentimes in a brook whose current is somewhat opposed wth little stones. But, for better satisfacon, I brake downe some peeces of ice wth a staffe I had in my hand; weh, in their falling, made a noise on ech side much like to a peice of glasse throwen downe the well within Douer Castle: wherby wee did æstimate the thicknes or height of this ice to be 30 fathomes. This huge ice, in my opinion, is nothing but snowe, weh from time to time has, for the most parte, bene driven of the mountaines; and, so continueing and increasing all the time of winter (wch may be counted three-quarters of the yeare), cannot possiblie be consumed wth the thawe of so short a somer, but is onelie a little dissolued to moisture, wherby it becomes more compact, and, wth the quick-succeeding frost, is congealed to a firme ice. And thus it is like still to increase, as (I think) it hath done since the world's creation.

On Saturday, the 31<sup>st</sup> of Julye, about 5 a-clock wee came after noone, wee weyed anchor out of Joseph's Bay, for England. to come for England, — namelie, the Mathew, the Desire, and the Richard and Barnard; leauing ther our admirall the Tiger and the great ship of St. John de Luz. At 9 a-clock that euening, wee weare at sea, about 6 leagues from the land; and then directed our course for Cherrie Iland, south-and-by-east.

The next daie, being the 1 of August, about 8 a-clock before noone, there came a shallop aboard the Desire, wth 11 Dutchmen that belonged to one of the Hollanders' ships that wee had latelie sent forth of Bel Sound. The occasion of their so comeing was this: Six of these men had gon ashoare from their ship to kill some venison; and, landeing at the time of a high water, they made fast their shallop; and so left her, safe enough, as they supposed, and went up into the land: but, when the water fell againe, the shallop was splitt upon a rock, and by that meanes they were forced to staie ther. Nowe, they that were in the ship, considering that their fellowes staied verie long, began to doubt of some unwelcome euent that hindered their retourne; and therfore they sent 5 men more in another shallop to knowe the cause of their so long absence. When these men last sent forth came ashoare, they found the other men, who tould them the occasion of their staie. Then went they all aboard the shallop, and rowed towards their ship; but the aire was growen to be verie mistie, and such a thick fog increased, that they could not by anie meanes find their ship: wherfore they were faine to rowe to the shoare againe. Then followed stormie weather, the winde bloweing of the shoare, we caused the ship to haile further of to sea; so that, when the aire was cleare, notwithstanding, they could not see her: wherby they were much discouraged, being in a place that could yeild them but little comforte. And thus they contynued 8 daies: in weh time they lived wth the flesh of 2 bucks and a beare, wth they had killed, - being eleven men; and more they could not kill, because their powder was spent. Then, seeing our ships come by, they rowed fast, and came aboard of us. And so wee brought them into England, where they had some monie alowed them, for their work at sea, by the Company of Moscouy Merchants; although (God be praised) wee never stood any need of their helpe: and so they were free to departe homeward, when they could gett shipping.

On the 3<sup>d</sup> of August, wee were about 10 leagues distant from Cherry Iland, but could not see it by reason of ill weather; the winde being contrarie, not suffering us to touch ther, as wee intended: therfore wee steer'd awaie, south-and-by-west and south-south-west, for England. After this daie, the sunne began to sett; and to be depressed under the horizon at midnight; the nights began to lengthen, and starres to beare vewe.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of August, Mr. Greene, one of the master's mates, died in the Mathewe, about 10 a-clock before noone; and, about 4 a-clock in the afternoone, he was cast ouerboard, and a peice of ordnance shott of.

The 18<sup>th</sup> of August, about 5 a-clock in the morneing, wee fell w<sup>th</sup> the coast of England, and discried on the coast of land about Huntelif Foot, w<sup>th</sup> is northward from Scarbrough, on the coast of Yeorkshire; and was the first land that wee sawe after we lost sight of Greenland.

The next daie, about 3 a-clock after noone, wee anchored in Winterton Roade; weh is 6 miles from Yarmouth. Then I caused the shallop to be taken out, and 6 sailers to sett me ashoare within 2 miles of Yarmouth, where I lodged that night: and, haueing prouided a horse, I rid out of the towne the next morneing at 9 a-clock, being Friday, and came to London at 3 a-clock afternoone, on Saturday; not haueing receaued anie sleepe at all betwixt Yarmouth and London. Our ships came up to Blackwall on the Teusday next after; and, so soone as they had deliuered their goods, the other 4 ships of our fleet came also safe home wth their ladeings. And thus, by the mercie of God, we ended our voyage wth good successe. To God, therfore, be praise and glory for euer. Amen.

## A Breife Discription of the Country of Greenland, otherwise called King Iames his New Land.

Greenland is a countrie beareing from England northward, nearest upon the pointe of the compasse, north-and-by-east. The southmost parte of it is distant from the Arctique Circle 10 degr. northwards; namelie, in the latitude of 76 degr. 30 minutes. This country hath bene discouered by the English almost to the parallel of 83 degr.; w<sup>ch</sup> is but 7 degr. eleuation distant from the North Pole, and therfore but 140 leagues from that point upon the superficies of the earth or water (whither it be) where the Pole shal be our zenith, and the Æquinoctiall our horizon.

In the latitude of 79 degr. (where wee made the greatest parte of our voyage this yeare), the sunne, when he entereth into the 1 degr. of Cancer, — makeing the longest daie and shortest night to all places betweene the Æquator and the Polar Circle, — is in his meridional altitude, or greatest distance from the horizon, 34 degr. 30 minutes high, and, at the time of his comeing to the north, is still apparent aboue the horizon, 12 degr. 30 minutes.

Variacon of the compasse varieth in this place from the true compasse, W. meridian, or line of north and south, neare 20 degr.; the north end of the needle inclineing so much towards the west.

The nature and condicon of this country of Greenland is verie much different from the name it hath; for I think ther is no place in the world yett knowen and discouered is lesse green then it. For, when we first ariued ther, — w<sup>ch</sup> was on the 30<sup>th</sup> of Maye, — the ground was all couered w<sup>th</sup> snowe, both the mountaines and the lowe land, saue onelie some fewe spotts that were full of flatt stones, wheron ther grewe a certaine white mosse, w<sup>ch</sup>, as it seemes, the deare doe feed

upon at the first beginning of their sommer; for theise bare spotts were very full of their ordure: and, besides, wee could not see anie other thing for them to feed upon.

The thawe began this yeare about the 10<sup>th</sup> of June; at w<sup>ch</sup> time ther began to spring up, in some places where the snowe was melted, a certaine stragling grasse, w<sup>th</sup> a blewish flower, much like to young heath, or ling, w<sup>ch</sup> growes upon moreish grounds in the north parts of England. And this is that wherwithall the deare, in a short time, become exceeding fatt. But how they liue in the time of extreame winter, when all is couered w<sup>th</sup> snowe, I cannot imagine.<sup>5</sup> Yet the meanes of their preseruación is not more strange to man's capacitie then is their creation: and, therfore, wee must knowe that He who made the creature hath also ordained that he shal be fed; although, to our understandings, ther is not anie food to sustaine them.

In the moneths of June, Julye, and the beginning of August, ther is oftentimes pleasant and warme weather; but, in the other moneths, certainlie very uncomfortable. For the temperature of the winter time maie be iudged, by the qualitie of the place, to be extreame could, especiallie dureing that time wherein the sunne shal be altogether depressed under the horizon; w<sup>ch</sup>, in the former latitude of 79 degr., continues from the 11<sup>th</sup> of October till the 10<sup>th</sup> of Februarye: and contrarilie it is eleuated altogether aboue the horizon from the 9<sup>th</sup> of April till the 14th of August. The rest of the time is an in-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Purchas, with Fotherby's notes before him, writes thus: "Greenland is a place in nature nothing like vuto the name; for certainly there is no place in the world, yet knowne and discouered, that is lesse greene than it. It is couered with snow, both the mountaines and the lower lands, till about the beginning of June, being very mountainous; and beareth neither grasse nor tree, save onely such as grow vpon the moores and heathic grounds in the north parts of England, which we call heath, or ling. This groweth when the snow melteth, and when the ground beginneth to be uncouered: and on this doe the deere feed in the summer-time, and become very fat therewithal in a moneth's space; but how they line in the winter-time, it is not easily to be imagined," &c.

tercourse of long daie and short night, and contrailie of short daie and long night.

The country afoardeth great plentie of fresh water in all places, weh proceeds from the snowe; and, therfore, ther can be no want therof at anie time: for ther is alwaies snowe, and (I think) euer hath bene since snowe first fell upon the earth. Besides, I found ther, wthin Sr Tho. Smyth's Baye, a very pleasant spring, neare the water-side, boiling (as it were), and workeing up sand, euen as our springs doe in England; being as pleasant water as anie I euer tasted in England.

The comodities of the countrie, hitherto knowen, are cheiflie whales and sea-morses. The whale yeilds oile and finnes; and the morse yeilds oyle, hydes, and teeth of good valewe,—wherof he hath but two, and they growe in his uppermost jawe. Ther be also white whales, and seales, w<sup>ch</sup> wee thought not to be worthy of time and labor to kill them; seeing that wee were imploied about the aboue-mentioned comodities. Wee sawe very fewe fishes ther, or rather none at all; saue onelie one cod, w<sup>ch</sup> was caught, w<sup>th</sup> a baited hook, in Green Harbour. But the Basks, our whale-strikers, doe saie that they haue sundrie times seene good store of salmons.

Upon the land, ther be manie white bears, graie foxes, and great plentie of deare; and also white partridges; and great store of wilde fowle, as culuerduns, wilde geese, sea-pigeons, sea-parats, willocks, stint, guls, and divers others, wherof some are as unworthy of nameing as tasteing. The land also doth yeild much driftwood, whales' finnes, morses' teeth, and sometimes unicorn-hornes, we'h are supposed to be rather of some sea creature then of anie land beast. And theise things the sea casteth forth upon the shoare to supplie the barrenes of the fruitles land; we'h, by the Divine Providence, hath sufficient to maintaine those unreasonable creatures we'h ther wee found; but, by all likelihood, was never yet inhabited by anie natives that beare the shape of man,—the country being alto-

gether destitute of necessaries wherwithall a man might be preserved in the time of winter.

I have thought good here to sett downe what was written concerning this country by one of Amsterdam, that was this yeare in Greenland (w<sup>th</sup> whom I ther sometimes conversed), as it is sett forth in printe by some of Holland, and (w<sup>th</sup> other things concerning this present voyage) is inserted in a late edition of Hudson's Discoveries:—

"Hæc pessima et frigidissima est regio mundi, undique rupes, montes, lapides: tanta ibi aquarum terram inundantium copia, vt vestigia hominum non admittat; maxima glaciei ibi copia, tantaque montium glacialium multitudo, ut ab ipsa natiuitate Christi, concreuisse videantur; tanta enim niuium abundantia, vt fidem superet. Ceruis abundat et vrsis, et vulpibus; cerui planè sunt albi coloris. Admiror tantos ceruorum greges, vnde viuant, cum regio niuibus tegatur, et planè sit sterilis. Auibus luxuriat, maximè anseribus minoribus qui turmatim conueniunt." 6

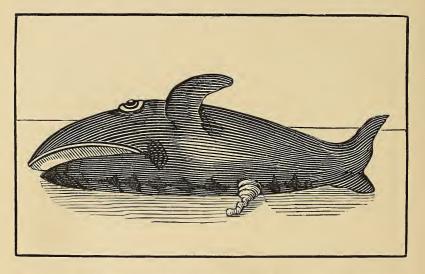
## The Manner of Killing the Whale, and of the whole Proceedings for performeing of the Voyage.

The whale is a fish, or sea-beast, of a huge bignesse, about 60 feet long, and 18 feet thick. His head seemes to be one-third parte of his whole quantitie. His finnes (w<sup>ch</sup> wee call whalebone in England) doe growe, and are wholie included w<sup>th</sup>in, his spacious mouth; being fastened, and, as it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The title of the book here referred to is "Descriptio ac Delineatio geographica Detectionis Freti, sive Transitus ad Occasum, supra Terras Americanas, in Chinam et Japonem," &c. Amst. 1613. 4to. In it the above passage occurs as a quotation, in Italics, preceded by the following remark: "Hæc vera esse, fidem faciunt testes oculati reduces, etiam literæ Navarchi Thomæ Bonaert et Semmij, cujus hæc verba, sub finem, in literis ad patrem de qualitate hujus regionis."

This Thomas Bonaert may be no other than Thomas Bonner, who commanded a Dutch ship at Spitzbergen, which was captured by the English, and sent northward for discovery, under Master Marmaduke. (Baffin's Narrative, in Purchas, vol. iii. pp. 717, 719.

were, rooted, in his uppermost jawe,—spreading on both sides of his toung, in nomber more than 260 on one side, and as manie on the other side. The longest finnes are placed in the midest of his mouth;<sup>7</sup> and the rest doe orderlie shorten more and more, both backwards and forwards, from 12 feet to less then 3 ynches in length. His eies are not much bigger then



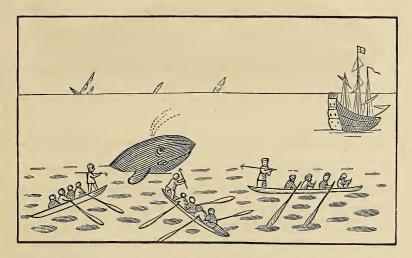
the eies of an oxe; and his bodie in fashion round, w<sup>th</sup> a very broad-spreading taile, w<sup>ch</sup> is of a tough and solide substance; and, therfore, it is used for to make chopping-blocks, to chop the whale's fatt upon (w<sup>ch</sup> wee call blubber). And of the like

<sup>7</sup> The description given by Purchas begins as follows: "The whale is a fish, or sea-beast, of a huge bignesse, about sixty-fine foot long, and thirty-fine foot thicke. His head is a third part of all his bodie's quantitie; his spacious mouth contayning a very great tongue, and all his finnes, which we call whale-finnes. These finnes are fastened or rooted in his vpper chap, and spread oner his tongue on both sides of his mouth; being in number about two hundred and fiftie on one side, and as many on the other side. The longest finnes are placed in the midst of his mouth;" &c.

The above extract, and the one given at p. 301, will suffice to show the resemblance between the descriptions of Purchas relating to these subjects, and those of this narrative. The inference appears to be a reasonable one, that, if Fotherby was the author of the notes used by Purchas in compiling his account, he was also the author of this narrative; as the similarity in the two is too great to be accidental. Purchas has not improved the accuracy of the statement by altering the figures.

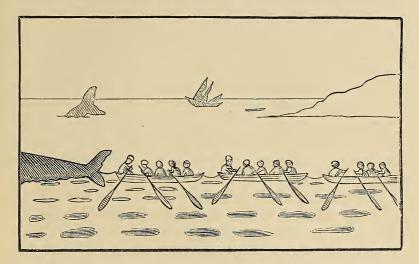
matter are also his two swimming finnes, weh serue, at some times, for the same vse.

The whale comes often aboue water, and will comonlie spowte 8 or 9 times before he goe under againe; by w<sup>ch</sup> spowteing of water, wee maie discerne him when he is 2 or 3 leagues distant from vs. When he enters into the sounds, our whal-killers doe presentlie sallie forth to meet him, either from our ships, or els from some other place more conuenient for that purpose, where to expect him; makeing very speedie waie towards him w<sup>th</sup> their shallops. But most comonlie, before they come neare him, he will be gon downe vnder water, and continue perhaps a good while er he rise againe; so that

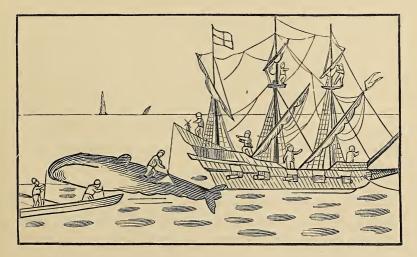


sometimes they rowe past him: and therfore are they alwaies very circumspect, lookeing if they can discerne his waie under the water (w<sup>ch</sup> they call his wake), or els see him further of by his spowteing, being risen. Then, comeing neare him, they rowe resolutelie towards him, as though they intended to force the shallop upon him. But, so soone as they come within stroak of him, the harponier (who stands up readie, in the head of the boat) darts his harping-iron at him out of both his hands; wherwith the whale being stricken, he presentlie

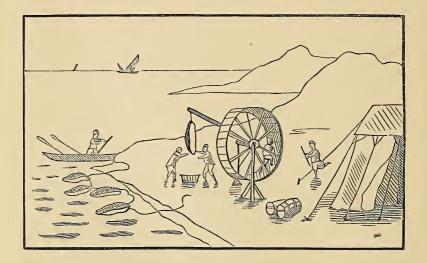
discends to the bottom of the water: and therfore the men in the shallop doe weire out 40, 50, or 60 fathomes of rope, yea, sometimes 100, or more, according as the depth requireth. For, upon the sockett of the harping-iron, ther is made fast a rope, weh lies orderlie coiled up in the sterne of the boat, weh, I saie, they doe weire forth untill they perceaue him to be riseing againe; and then they haile in some of it, both to give him the lesse scope, and also that it maie be the stronger, being shorter. For, when he riseth from the bottome, he comes not directlie up aboue the water, but swimmes awaie wth an uncontrowled force and swiftnes; hurrying the shallop after him, wth hir head so close drawen downe to the water, that shee seemes euer readie to be hailed under it. When he hath thus drawen hir perhaps a mile or more, weh is done in a very short time, considering her swiftnes, - then will be come spowteing about the water; and the men rowe up to him, and strike him wth long launces, wch are made purposelie for that vse. In lanceing of the whale, they strike him as neare his swimming finne, and as lowe under water as they can conuenientlie, to peirce into his intralls. But, when he is wounded, he is like to wrest the launce out of the striker's hand; so that sometimes two men are faine to pluck it out, although but one man did easilie thrust it in. And nowe will he frisk and strike wth his taile verie forceablie; sometimes hitting the shallop, and splitting hir asunder; sometimes also maihmeing or killing some of the men. And, for that cause, ther is alwaies either two or 3 shallops about the killing of one whale, that the one of them maie relieue and take in the men out of another, being splitt. hath receaued his deadlie wound, then he casteth forth blood where formerlie he spowted water; and, before he dies, he will sometimes drawe the shallops 3 or 4 miles from the place where he was first stricken wth the harping-iron. When he is dyeing, he most comonlie tourneth his bellie vppermost: and then doe the men fasten a rope, or small hauser, to the hinder parte of his bodie, and, wth their shallops (made fast, one to another), they towe him to the ships, wth his taile foremost;



and then they fasten him to the sterne of some ship apointed for that purpose, where he is cutt up in manner as followeth: Two or three men come in a boate, or shallop, to the side of the whale; one man holdeing the boat close to the whale w<sup>th</sup> a boat-hook, and another—who stands either in the boat or

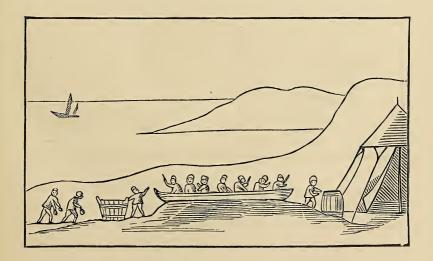


upon the whale - cutts and scores the fatt, wen we call blubber, in square-like peices, 3 or 4 feet long, wth a great cuttingknife. Then, to raise it from the flesh, ther is a crab, or capstowe, sett purposely upon the poop of the ship, from whence ther discends a rope, with an iron hook in the end of it; and this hook is made to take fast hould of a peice of the fatt, or blubber: and as, by tourning the capstowe, it is raised and lifted up, the cutter, wth his long knife, looseth it from the flesh, euen as if the larde of a swine were, by peece and peece, to be cutt off from the leane. When it is in this manner cleane cutt off, then doe they lower the capstowe, and lett it downe to float upon the water, makeing a hole in some side or corner of it, wherby they fasten it upon a rope. And so they proceed to cutt off more peeces; makeing fast together 10 or twelve of them at once, to be towed ashoare at the sterne of a boat, or shallop. Theise peices, being brought to

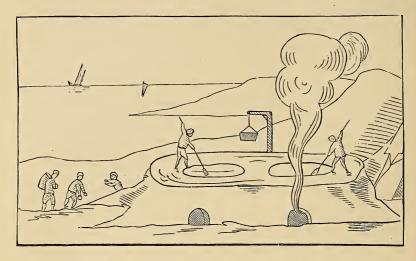


the shoare-side, are, by one and one, drawen upon the shoare by the helpe of a high crane ther placed; and at length are hoised up from the ground ouer a vessell, w<sup>ch</sup> is sett to receaue the oile that runnes from it as it is cutt into smaller peices: for, whilest it hangeth thus in the crane, two men doe cutt it into little peices about a foot long and half a foot thick, and putt them into the foresaid vessel; from w<sup>ch</sup> it is carried to the *choppers* by two boies, who, w<sup>th</sup> little flesh-hooks, take in ech hand a peice, and so conveie it into tubbs, or ould casks, w<sup>ch</sup> stand behinde the *choppers*; out of w<sup>ch</sup> tubbs it is taken againe, and is laid for them, as they are readie to vse it, upon the same board they stand on.

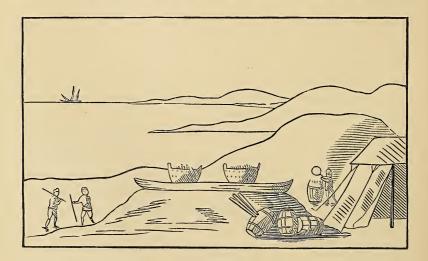
The choppers stand at the side of a shallop, weh is raised from the ground, and sett vp of an equall height wth the coppers, and stands about two yards distant from the fournaces. Then a fir-deale is laid alongst the one side of the shallop, within-board; and upon it doe they sett their chopping-blocks, weh are made of the whale's taile, or els of his swimming-finne. Nowe the blubber is laid readie for them by some apointed for that purpose, as before is sett downe, in such small peices as the boies doe bring from the crane. And so they take it up wth little hand-hooks, laieing it upon their blocks; where, wth chopping-kniues, they chop it into verye small peices, about an ynch and a halfe square. Then, wth a short thing of wood, made in fashion like a cole-rake, they put



the chopt blubber off from the block downe into the shallop; out of the w<sup>ch</sup> it is taken againe w<sup>th</sup> a copper ladle, and filled into a great tubb, w<sup>ch</sup> hangs upon the arme of a gibbet that is made to tourne to and againe between the blubber-boat and



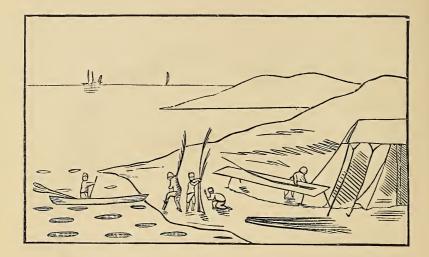
the coppers. This tubb containeth as much blubber as will serue one of the coppers at one boiling; and therfore, so soon as it is emptied, it is presentlie filled againe, that it maie be



readie to be putt into the copper when the frittires are taken Theise frittires (as wee call them) are the small peices of chopt blubber, weh, when the oile is sufficientlie boiled, will look browne, as if they were fried; and they are taken out of the coppers, together wth some of the oile, by copper ladles, and put into a wicker basket that stands ouer another shallop weh is placed on the other side of the fournaces, and serues as a cooler to receaue the oile being drayned thorowe the said basketts. And this shallop, because it receaues the oile hott out of the two coppers, is kept continuallie half full of water; w<sup>ch</sup> is not onelie a meanes to coole the oile before it runnes into cask, but also to clense it from soot and drosse wch discends to the bottome of the boat. And out of this shallop the oile runneth into a long trough, or gutter, of wood, and therby is conveyed into butts and hogsheads; weh, being filled, are bung'd vp, marked, and rowl'd by, and others sett in their place. Then is the bung taken out againe, that the oile maie coole; for notwithstanding ye shallop is half full of water, yet, the coppers being continuallie plied, the oile keeps very hott in the boat, and runs also hott into the cask, weh sometimes is an occasion of great leakage. Now concerning the finnes.

When the whale lies floateing at the sterne of the ship, where he is cutt up, they cut of his head, containing his toung and his finnes, comonlie called whalbone; and by a boat, or shallop, they towe it so neare the shoare as it can come, and ther lett it lie till the water flowe againe: for, at high waters, it is drawen further and further upon the shoare by crabs and capstowes ther placed for that purpose, untill, at a lowe water, men maie come to cutt out the finnes; went thing they doe with hatchetts, by 5 or 6 finnes at once. And theise are trailed further vp from the shoare-side, and then are seuered ech one from another with hatchetts, and by one, at once, are laid upon a fir-deale, or other board, raised up a convenient height for a man to stand at, who scrapeth off the

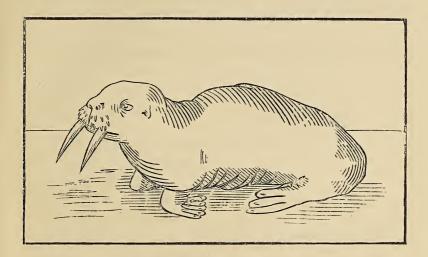
white pithie substance that is upon the roots, or great ends, of the finnes, w<sup>th</sup> such scraping-irons as coopers use; being instruments very fitting for that purpose. Then are they



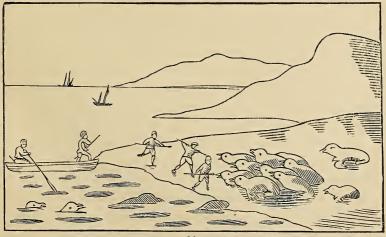
rubbed in the sand, to clense them from grease w<sup>ch</sup> they receaue when the heads are brought to the shoare-side: for, whilest the whale is in cutting up, his head is under the water, and his finnes remaine cleane; but, being brought neare the shoare and grounded, then doth the grease cleaue vnto them at the ebbing or falling of the water, w<sup>ch</sup> is alwaies fattie w<sup>th</sup> blubber that floats vpon it continuallie. When the finnes are thus made cleane, they are sorted into 5 seuerall kindes, and are made up into bundells of 50, contayneing of ech sorte 10 finnes. These bundles are bound up w<sup>th</sup> coards; and vpon ech of them ther is tied a stick, whereon is written some nomber, and the companie's mark sett: and so they are made readie to be shipped.

Nowe a little concerning the sea-morse (of manie called the sea-horse); wen, indeed, maie seeme to be rather a beast then a fish, and partakes both of the sea and the land. He is, in

quantitie, about the bignesse of an oxe; and his shape and proportion is best sett forth by the figure followeing:—



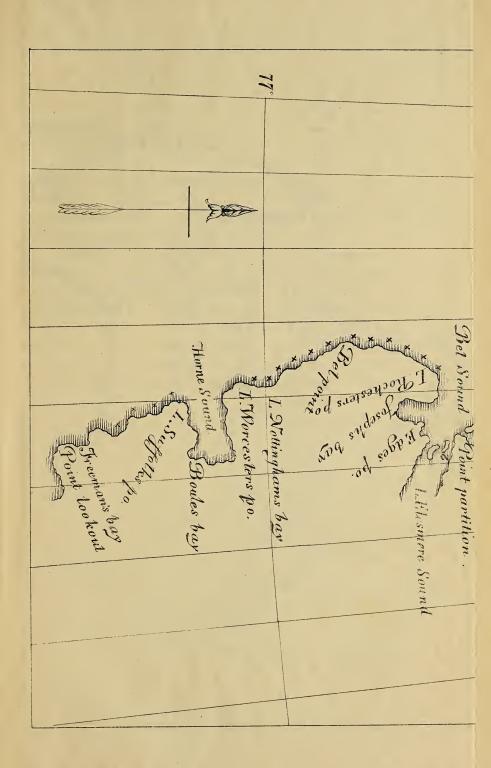
Theise morses use to goe ashoare vpon some beach or pointe of lowe land, where the snowe doth soonest melt or dissolue; and ther will they lie upon the sand, close together, grunteing much like hoggs, and sometimes creeping and tum-

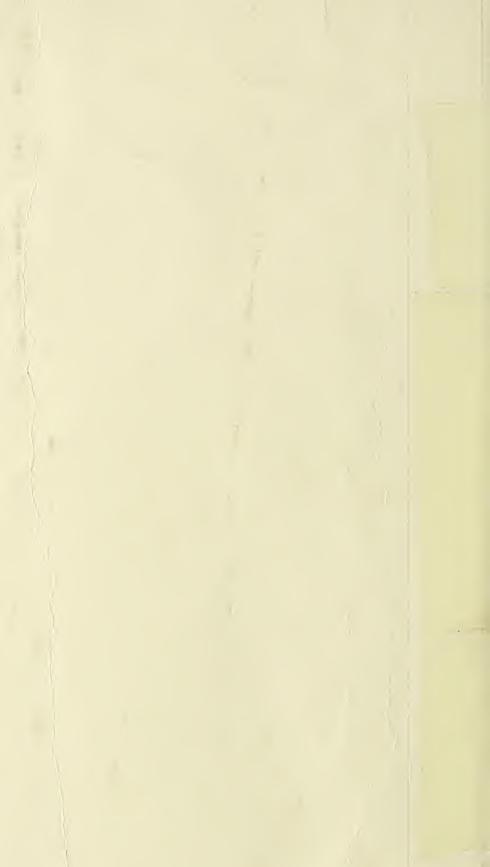


bleing one ouer another. They neuer goe farre vp from the water-side: and therfore the men that goe to kill them strike theise first w<sup>ch</sup> are next the water, that their dead bodies maie be a hinderance to barre the rest from escapeing; for they all make towards the water, without anie feare either of man or weapon that opposeth them.

Theise also are killed w<sup>th</sup> launces w<sup>ch</sup> are verie broadheaded, to the end that they maie make the more mortall wound for the speedie killing of them, because they are so neare the water, and also manie in nomber; for, in some places, they will lie 400 or 500 morses all together.

This sea-beast being dead, his teeth are taken out of his upper jawe; and his skin, or hide, is fleyed of him, first on the one side; and his fat or blubber, w<sup>ch</sup> lies next to his skinne aboue his flesh, is also taken off: and then is his other side tourned vp, and ye like againe done w<sup>th</sup> it. Then is the blubber put into cask, and carried to the choppers; and by them it is chopped, and put into the coppers; and ther it is tryed, and reduced to oile.





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